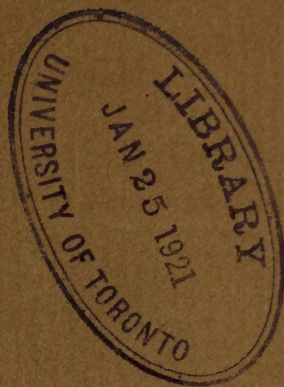




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LIONS IN GREEK ART

BY

ELEANOR FERGUSON RAMBO

A Dissertation

Presented in 1918 to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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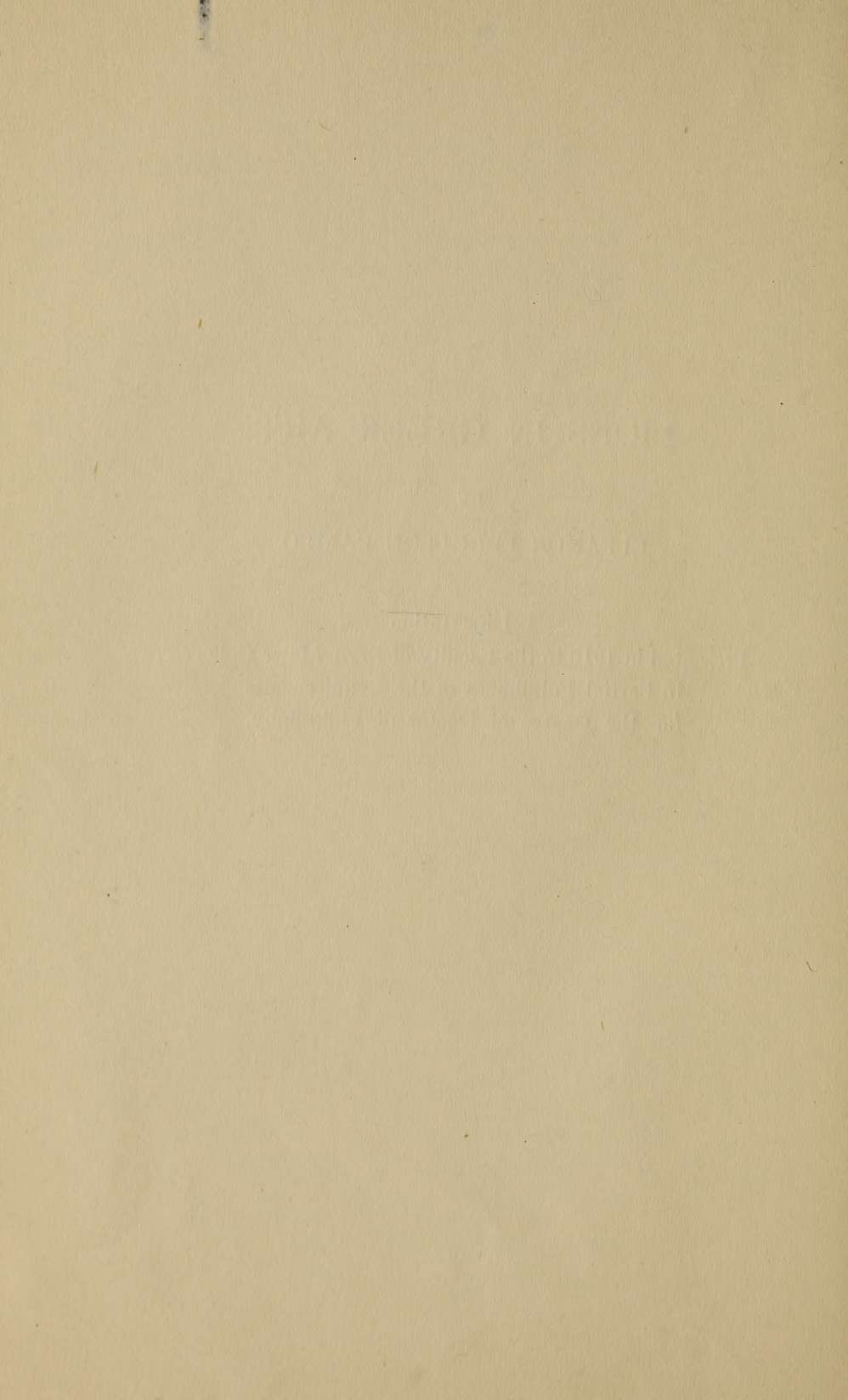


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INTRODUCTION

GENERALLY speaking, the execution of animal forms in Greek art does not impress the beholder favourably. Compared with representations of the human form, the animal seems at best decorative, at worst grotesque. It is rarely realistic. The explanation of this phenomenon seems to lie not so much in the inability of the Greek artist as in his indifference. Although we have read legends of Myron's heifer and of the horses of Calamis, yet the excellence of these works we must believe exceptional. Certainly the frieze of the Parthenon, with its horses too small for their riders, and its sheep relatively gigantic, is a fair example of the liberties which the Greek artist will take with animal forms, and of his constant insistence on the subordination of the animal to the human form.¹ Undeniably, Greek art takes liberties also with the human form; but the fact remains that in the best period of Greek art, animal forms are less well done than figures of men and women. In this respect, Greek art is very different from Assyrian and Egyptian art, for in these, animals are represented much better than human beings; and falls behind that Aegean art, which is found on the same soil a millenium earlier, for in the best Aegean art, the animals are spirited, with a suggestion of power and mobility unattained in Mesopotamia or Egypt. The Egyptian artist excels in portraiture, but the execution of the face is not matched by the execution of the torso, consequently the human figure in its entirety is inferior to that of the animal. Löwy² asserts that "the perfection of rendering of animal forms is in direct proportion to the simplicity of their construction, *i.e.*, to the ease with which they are committed to memory." Such being the case, since the animal is easier to reproduce than the human form, perfection in it is to be expected at an earlier stage of civilization. Lange³ notes that as the execution of human figures improves, that of the animals declines. He offers no explanation, but he seems to believe that, because man is the centre of the universe, the Greek was interested more in the usual than in the unusual, and preferred type to variety; that

¹ See note 2, p. VIII, *infra*.

² *Nature in Greek Art*, p. 27, note.

³ *Die Darstellung des Menschen in der älteren griechischen Kunst*, p. 111 ff.

the Greek was much more interested in tame than in wild animals, and had for both sorts of animal a favorite type,—for the first the horse, and for the second the lion.¹

The explanation of this essential difference in interest between the earlier artist and the Greek of historical times lies partially, at least, in the fact that by historical times Greek thought and religion had freed themselves from animism, and that save for the Black Demeter in Phigaleia, lingering on in the days of Pheidias, animal forms had largely lost their holiness. Snakes were still associated with the dead; and even in fifth century Attica, swine were sacred to Demeter, but the ultimate significance of the owl in Athens and of the eagle in Elis, as embodiments of the gods they accompany, imported little to one who gazed at the superhuman forms of the Pheidian Athena and Zeus. By this time Heracles has sloughed his lion skin and emerged a hero. The act is not without significance.

It is further to be noted that the sanity of Greek art avoids such monstrous forms as delight the Egyptian and the Assyrian. The composite beasts of the island gems disappear from art, leaving no trace² behind them except the Chimaera³ whose origin is, according to ancient authorities, Lycian. At any rate, Bellerophon⁴ slew it in Lycia, and only with Corinth⁵ of which he is

¹ The choice of these two animals is indicative of the adaptive, non-inventive temper of the art not only of the Greeks but of all the Aryan race, which, as compared with the Semitic, is non-artistic; for the horse, actual and artistic, comes from the East (see POULSEN, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der Enkomi Funde*, *Jhb.*, (26) 1911, p. 238), so likewise the lion, as this paper attempts to prove.

² Such composite creatures as are found in Greek art are essentially non-Greek, e.g., harpies are probably Egyptian in origin—cf. *Daremberg et Saglio* under *Harpuia*; sirens are creatures from the epic and probably pre-Greek—cf. *op. cit.* under *Sirenes*.

³ The Chimaera, according to FURTWÄNGLER (*A. G.* III, p. 72), is a misunderstanding of the Mycenaean representation of a goat behind a lion. It is generally supposed to be an embodiment of volcanic fire. Triton, according to DAREMBERG and SAGLIO, is a Mycenaean survival. The centaur seems to be Asiatic in origin: cf. DAREMBERG ET SAGLIO, under *Centauri*, and also BAUR'S treatise, *Centauri in Ancient Greek Art*.

⁴ Bellerophon, KELLER, *Die antike Thierwelt*, vol. 1, p. 47, considers the successor of Heracles in Lycia.

⁵ Leucas, a colony of Corinth, borrowing from the mother city, occasionally uses the Chimaera as a type for its coins, after the middle of the fourth century. The same type is seen also on Sicyonic coins of the early fifth century. The community of type indicates trade supremacy, which imposes on the lesser city the type of the greater.

the hero is the Chimaera associated. Exotic animals, such as camels, bears, monkeys, elephants are rarely seen, and the sphinx¹ is admittedly a borrowed type.

In view of all this there is the more need to explain why the lion had such a hold on the Greek imagination.² The oldest sculptured architectural monument in Greece shows the lion established as warder of the king's gate,³ and over the tomb of the Thebans who fell fighting Philip before Chaeroneia in 338 B. C. was placed "no epitaph but a stone⁴ lion." Hellenistic art displays many lions fierce of aspect but mild of demeanor, suffering themselves to be petted by cupids; and at all times the story of Heracles' conquest of the Nemean lion is widely known through Greek art and literature. Why is the lion so popular and acceptable? Does it exercise the terror and fascination of the unknown, like the dragon in Celtic literature, or is it admired as a familiar and native creature?

Scholars are divided as to the origin of the lion in Greek art. Some say⁵ that the lion on pre-Attic vases is not a mainland motive, that it is the result of an influence Ionic or remotely Egyptian; others hotly assert that the lion lived in Greece in historical times, for Herodotus⁶ expressly states that there were lions in Thrace in the fifth century and as far west as the Achelous river. Furthermore, Greek legend is full of lions, of which the Nemean lion and the lion of Cithaeron are only the greatest; therefore the Greeks knew lions and used them in their art as a matter of course quite as much as would an Assyrian. If the wild lion was familiar to the Greeks in early historical times, the motive

¹ FURTWÄNGLER (*op. cit.*, p. 43) considers the Sphinx a South Aegean creation; but SARTIAUX (*R. A.*, XXII, 1913, p. 369), says that it was borrowed from the Orient in the sixth century. In either case we have a non-Hellenic origin.

² Löwy (*op. cit.*, p. 26), notes that at the end of the ripe archaic period there is a greater naturalism in representations of animals less commonly known, because the artist, not having at his disposal a completely satisfactory memory picture, is compelled to observe nature and so to imitate more closely.

³ The Lion Gate at Mycenae; the date is about 1000 B.C. WHIBLEY, *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 37, considers these lions as well as the lion of Nemea solstitial signs of Leo.

⁴ PAUS., IX, XL, 5. Restored, COLLIGNON, *Stat. Fun.*, p. 235, fig. 153.

⁵ P-C., X, pp. 64, 66, 80, etc.; III, p. 572; VIII, p. 518. G. M. A. RICHTER—*Handbook of the Classical Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1917, p. 48.

⁶ VII, 126.

in Greek art need not be due to Oriental¹ influence, all the more since, as has been said, the Greeks were not given to the exotic. We might rather infer that they so frequently employed the lion because they did know it at first hand, and because the sight of its majesty and beauty fired their enthusiasm and held their imagination even more than could the strength and virility of the bull. On this hypothesis the defects in naturalistic representation become only a further instance of their method. Their art is never photographic, and rarely realistic even in representations of that human figure for which they have a peculiar passion. Naturally, then, it is not realistic in representing an animal which is to them of far less interest and importance.²

It should be possible, however, by comparison of the actual monuments not only with each other but with foreign ones to arrive at a conclusion whether there was any direct observation. That is to say, if the Greeks repeat in a stereotyped and lifeless way the conventions of other peoples who knew the lion at first hand, if they add nothing new to the manner of interpretation, but develop incorrect details because they know no better, it is fair to assume that they have not known the living animal at first hand; for although conventions abound in Greek art, no meaningless convention is kept. If, then, we find that in all periods of Greek art both lions and lionesses have manes, if their ears are misplaced, and if, as Lange³ points out, their bodily structure is like that of a dog,⁴ it is likely that ignorance, not

¹ LANGE, *op. cit.*, p. 112, says that the Mycenaean lions were done from nature, but that the multiplicity of lions in Greek art is due partly to Oriental influence and partly to a desire to illustrate the Greek saga. If Greek saga demands lions, why assume any Oriental influence? On the other hand the question arises whether the saga that demands lions is essentially Greek, or is a foreign adaptation.

² No one questions the Greeks' knowledge of the relative size of a horse and a sheep, yet the frieze of the Parthenon, with its undersized ponies and gigantic sheep, shows their disregard of the proportions of nature, when these proportions stand in the way of an effect. The unnatural proportions of the animals here are due to Greek insistence on iscephaly in friezes.

³ LANGE, *loc. cit.*, followed by SCHRÖDER in *B. B.*,—*Fünf Löwen*, text to pls. 641–645, p. 3.

⁴ KARO (in *Minoische Rhyta*, *Jhb.* (26), 1911, p. 258, fig. 10), gives a gold lion from Mycenae which is distinctly dog-like. Further, SCHRÖDER (*loc. cit.*), points out that the Mycenaean gold leaf rhyton and the Cnossus "lioness" head are Cretan hounds.

Note that the palace of Alcinous was guarded by hounds (*Odys.* VII, 91); further, that the confusion between the two forms is carried so far that in the

convention, is the cause. Further, if the types are paralleled in previous and contemporary barbarian art, we have reason to believe that the whole idea of the lion is something foreign.

I hope to show definitely that whenever the lion is employed in Greek art some more or less cogent non-Hellenic influence is at work.¹ My plan is briefly to consider the literary evidence, and after studying the influence of the idea of the lion, to give a series of typical representations of the lion in Greek art through the seventh, sixth and early fifth centuries, choosing this period for three reasons:—

First, the monuments within this period are historical, *i.e.*, no question arises about Mycenaean work, most of which if not imported from Crete, was done by Cretan artists working on the mainland.²

Secondly, the period covers the formative time of painting and sculpture, and includes the climax of Greek art. It therefore represents pure Greek tendencies in art, and shows how the wave of interest in the lion rises and then recedes.

Thirdly, it excludes Hellenistic and later art, when under the influence of the worship of Alexander Theos and Alexander Heracles there was a revival of interest in the lion.³

I hope to show by parallels and chronological comparisons that the historical types of the lion in early Greek art are not indigenous to Greece, but come to Greece from the East by peaceful penetration. I divide the lions selected into two groups according to technique, the painted and the plastic. The first group is by far the larger, including as it does vases of many techniques and painted sarcophagi. The second group is more varied in type and includes representations in relief and free sculpture, as well as coins and gems. Hybrid forms, such as winged lions, sphinxes, griffins, etc., are ignored.

fourth century a dog has a mane (COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, p. 241, fig. 158). Cf. the lion on a vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale no. 350 (DE RIDDER, *Catalogue I*, p. 240, fig. 45). For a good note, see *P.-C.*, VII, p. 670.

¹ The lithe and powerful beasts on Mycenaean dagger-blades are not Greek work. Legend has it that the Cyclopes of Lycia built the Lions' Gate at Mycenae (PAUS., II, XVI, 4). Consequently the prehistoric remains offer no proof for the knowledge of living lions on the mainland, although they do prove the workers' observation at first hand. LÖWY (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31), insists on the separation of the Mycenaean from the later (Hellenic) work, and on the survival of the Mycenaean in the art of Asia Minor.

² KARO (*op. cit.*, p. 258), hints at the possibility of distinguishing by style mainland work from Cretan work, but the detailed study has not been made.

³ See the so-called Alexander sarcophagus and the late Hellenistic frescoes.

CHAPTER I

TRACES OF THE LION IN GREEK LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE

IN considering how deeply the idea of the lion impressed the Greek mind, we find two sorts of influence,—direct and indirect. The direct influence comes through actual monuments of art and the imagery of religion, ritual,¹ myth and legend; the indirect influence through survivals in nomenclature,—personal names such as *Λεωνίδας*, *Λέων*, *Λεοντεύς*, *Λεοντιάδης* etc.,² place names such as *Λεοντίτι* or *Λεοντάρνη*, scientific nomenclature, *e.g.*, the name for certain varieties of crab and serpent, and the name of the fifth sign of the zodiac.³ Postponing for a later chapter the consideration of the monuments of art, we may note the following points:—

I. PERSONAL NAMES. It is well known that all Greek personal names have a meaning. So true is this that when there appears to be no meaning the name is at once branded as suspect, if not as non-Greek. It, however, does not imply that any given name will have at all times a vivid and vital meaning, for names are repeated from generation to generation, the grandchild regularly receiving the name of his grandfather. Therefore the recurrence of given names such as those above can not be cited as indicative of familiarity with the beast whose name forms the basis of derivation, for the leonine idea may be taken from religious sources or it may have its roots in remote antiquity.

II. PLACE NAMES. Their significance is frequently to be found in the ethnic character of the original settlers. Leontini in Sicily was founded by Ionians from Naxos, who named their new

¹ *E.g.*, priests of the late-comer Mithras were called *λέοντες*, and some dim religious significance may be derived from the figures of men wearing lion masks seen on b. f. vases,—see *JHS.*, XIV, 1894, p. 117, fig. 12.

² See PAPE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Heft 2, pp. 783 and 784 for a list of names derived from *λέων*.

³ The name was given by the Chaldaeans and copied by all later writers, see CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, p. 42, and LÜBKER, *Reallexikon des klassischen Alterthums*, under *Sternbilder*, p. 986.

city after the attribute of their patron god, Milesian Apollo,¹ and so take to themselves the name of their badge.² Leontarne is analyzed by Pape as equivalent to *Löwenlammsberg*. The *Thesaurus* states that the village was so called, διότι Ἀδράστου θύοντος φᾶσιν ἐκεῖ λέων τὸν ἄρνα ἤρπασε. This is obviously an aetiological etymology, but curiously enough Adrastus³ is a chthonian demon. His nature would thus render more plausible his connection with a lion myth. But this does not explain the τ in the name. Tarne⁴ is the name of a city in Lydia;⁵ Arne the name⁶ of the mother of the eponymous hero of Boetia. The etymologist is on a blind trail. Whatever be the derivation of the name, it is to be noted that many non-Greek influences permeate Boeotia. The original population seems to have been Pelasgic overrun by Thessalian-Aeolians and intermingled with Phoenician. Place names, when one considers that any one element of this medley may have supplied the idea back of the λέων, need not be connected necessarily with the haunts of lions. If the chance resemblance to a lion of a rock in Crete labels a promontory⁷ λέων ἄκρον, it is not impossible that such names elsewhere may be due to similar natural formations. Perhaps to such the Scholiast⁸ refers when he says that Leontarne is so-called ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτόθι λέοντος.⁹

¹ Doubtless Ionia took its lion god from Mesopotamia, via the hinterland of Asia Minor. At least, Milesian Apollo, a sun god, has the lion for attribute, but Hellenic Apollo has not. Even if the basis found at Delos in the temenos of Apollo supported a statue of the god, the lion head on it offers less evidence for the connection of the lion with Apollo than of the gorgoneion with the archer god, for the gorgoneion is sometimes confused with the lion mask (*BCH.*, XII, 1888, pl. XIII, p. 463 ff). The passage in EURIPIDES, *Alcestis*, 580, which tells of lions trooping after Apollo is a simple figurative expression of the power of music.

² Cf. A. B. COOK, — *JHS.*, XIV, 1894, p. 169.

³ Cf. LÜBKER, *op. cit.* under *Adrastos*. See also D. M. ROBINSON, — *AJA.*, XVI (2) 1912, p. 29 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Thesaurus* under τάρνη.

⁵ PAUSANIAS (VII, VI, 4) mentions a Lydian Adrastus who fought in the Lamian War; but there seems to be no early link.

⁶ Cf. *Thesaurus* under Ἄρνη.

⁷ PTOLEMAUS *Καινὴ Ἰστορία*, 3, 17. Cf. also PHILOSTRATUS, τὰ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίων IV, 34, and *Διαλέξεις* II (Teubner text, Vol. II, p. 23, 1. 27 ff.).

⁸ Cf. *Thesaurus* under Λεοντάρνη.

⁹ In view of the fact that the location of Leontarne is not known, the chance is very slim that the scholiast is referring to the Boeotian lion, the lion of Cithaeron.

III. SCIENTIFIC NOMENCLATURE. The use of the root *λέων* in naming the fifth sign of the zodiac,¹ the constellation, etc., may be allowed to pass without further comment. Erudition is never a test for the scope of popular ideas.

The evidence from Greek nomenclature proves, then, no active influence of common knowledge of the lion. The imagery of myth and religion is likely to produce more satisfactory results. The lion is associated with a number of heroic and divine figures in Greek religion. Foremost is of course Heracles, whose most famous exploit, the slaying of the Nemean² lion, is celebrated alike in literature and art. Heracles is a figure strange in Greek thought, curiously bestial, struggling with all the mass of his brute strength against heartbreaking odds, rather clumsy and devoid of cunning, incapable of making his brain help his muscles. Even before birth he was pursued by the implacable hatred of Hera, we are told. This doubtless is an aetiological explanation of his name, which is commonly analyzed as being compounded of *Ἡρα* and *κλέος*.³ Linked with such an etymology is the legend that he was not called Heracles until after the Delphic oracle so named him when it warned him to go to Tiryns to serve Eurystheus; before that he was called *Ἀλκείδης*.⁴ A different derivation⁵ from the Hebrew *rakal*, to wander, is more acceptable, as fitting in well with his adventures in the far west and other regions indubitably Phoenician.⁶ Be that as it may, there are

¹ *Supra* p. 1, note 3. The lion as a constellation is mentioned by EUDOXUS (fourth century, B.C.) and ARATUS (third century, B.C.) as being the Nemean lion raised to heaven by Zeus in honour of Heracles. On the celestial origin of this lion see COOK, *Zeus*, I, p. 456 ff.

² Megara has a lion-slaying hero Alcatheos (*Paus.*, I, XLI, 3), contemporary with Theseus. The latter is sometimes called the Attic Heracles. Possibly all three can be identified, see *infra*, note 4.

³ The spelling then should be *Ἡρόκλης*,—VON WILAMOWITZ' edition EURIPIDES, *Heracles*, *Einl.* p. 47.

⁴ APOLLODORUS, II, 4, 12. See VON WILAMOWITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 49, for the meaning of *Ἀλκείδης*, and the suggestion that the real name was *Ἀλκαῖος*. Note that the new name could be given only after the Dorians entered Argos, for Hera is of Argos only.

⁵ KELLER, *op. cit.* p. 47.

⁶ See P. GARDNER,—*JHS.*, XIII, 1892-1893, pp. 75 ff. Furthermore, in this connection note that in Mesopotamia, Nergal, god of the dead, has the lion for attribute, i.e., the lion is god of the dead. Something of this association clings to Heracles, conqueror of the lion, who drags from Hades the dog Cerberus, and compels Hades to give up Alcestis, and in his infancy slew two serpents, chthonian creatures.

elements in his make up and adventures which are hardly explicable except as accumulations around a foreign nucleus. Among such may be mentioned his ultimate connection with Tiryns¹ but birth and early life in Thebes,² the development of the early artistic type from the bestial creature armed with a bow who after gradually sloughing his animal pelt becomes a warrior, to the bearded or beardless athlete who never quite attains godhead.³ Why should the people of Marathon⁴ count it to their credit that there first Heracles was worshipped unless their pride commemorates the days when the newcomer was not wholly acceptable? We know that he owed his position among the Dorians to the influence of the Delphic oracle about 700 B.C., but that Dorians are not responsible for the spread of his fame. This is due to Boeotians,⁵ early creators of epic, and to Rhodians, who gave form to the tradition of the twelve labours, and whose Peisander in the *Heracleia*⁶ in the sixth century gave to Heracles the club,⁷ which in classical tradition becomes his characteristic weapon, displacing the earlier bow and quiver.⁸ The club, however, is

¹ Tiryns is a place of curious interest. The name is not Greek. According to PAUSANIAS, (II, XVI, 4), the city was founded by Proetus, and its walls built by the same Cyclopes who later built those at Mycenae. Mycenae was founded by Perseus who had ousted the son of Proetus from his kingdom. This same Perseus is on the human side three generations back of Heracles. Heracles' claim to the land seems then to rest on his descent from a foreigner, (HERODOTUS, VI, 54, says that Perseus was an Assyrian), who drove out the first king. In other words, Heracles is himself a foreigner who fights his way to recognition in Greece.

² A city founded by an Easterner; cf. T. H. ROBINSON in *Classical Quarterly*, XI, 1917, p. 201 ff., *Baal in Hellas*,—"The traditions of Thebes are bound up with Phoenicia" (p. 208).

³ JANE HARRISON, *Themis*, p. 372, and *Prolegomena*, p. 611.

DÉCHARME, *La Critique des Traditions Religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 81.

⁴ PAUS., I, XXXII, 4. DÉCHARME, *loc. cit.*—"Malgré les prétensions des Grecs Hercules n'est pas né chez eux, mais il est venu de l'Orient."

⁵ Boeotia is responsible for the Theban War Cycle, for the Argonautic saga, and, according to THOMSON (*Studies in the Odyssey*), for the original Odyssey.

VON WILAMOWITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 36, calls Heracles a god among the Boeotians, an ancestor among the Dorians and a stranger in Attica.

⁶ So ERATOSTHENES (C. 12), but ATHENAEUS (XII, p. 513 A) gives the honour to Stesichorus.

⁷ This is due to Egyptian influence, possibly; or see J. HARRISON, *Themis*, p. 365. Note how in seventh century Greek gems (FURTWÄNGLER, *op. cit.*, p. 98) as well as in Cyprus (MYRES, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, p. 171), Heracles absurdly wields both club and bow.

⁸ THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 170, points out that the bow is the characteristic weapon of very ancient heroes, such as Paris, hero of a pre-Homeric Trojan

used only in the slaying of the Nemean lion, and not invariably in that adventure. This, too, may have significance.

Whether or not Heracles be a transmutation of Bes, and a kinsman of Gilgamesh,¹ he is a lion hero.² Like Bes,³ he is equipped with a lion skin; like Gilgamesh, he is a slayer of lions.⁴ The skin in Greece is a later addition⁵ than the club, and is not universally⁶ accepted even so late as the time of the Olympia metopes, but is general in Attic art by the end of the sixth century. Apparently it is not the pelt of the Nemean⁷ lion, so that the anomaly of having the hero wear the skin as he slays the beast is apparent only. The fell is a memento of an earlier episode, when the youthful Heracles slew a lion that was ravaging Cithaeron, flayed the beast and took the skin for a cloak like any countryman.⁸ Not until he was well along in years did he, like Samson, wrestle with the invulnerable lion of Nemea.⁹ This, the first labour for Eurystheus, is proved by Dr. Luce¹⁰ to be the most

saga, Teucer, an Asiatic, Apollo, the conqueror from Crete, Pandarus, a Lycian, —all from barbarian countries. If Heracles be added to the list, we have perhaps another such barbarian hero.

¹ See SAYCE, *Babylonian Literature*, p. 27 ff. REISCH, in *A. M.*, XII, 1887, p. 122 put forward the claim that Heracles is "eine zweifelsohne in altgriechischer Sagie gegründete Persönlichkeit in Nemea lokalisiert," but absorbing the characteristics and feats of the Eastern lion conqueror.

² Cf. OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER, *Cyprus, the Bible and Homer*, I, p. 320 ff. This may account for the story that his son Telephus was suckled by a lioness,—see the small frieze in the Pergamum Museum.

³ ROSCHER, *Lexikon*, under *Herakles*, col. 2145, says that Heracles took the skin from Bes.

⁴ USENER, *De Iliadis Quodam Carmine Phocaico* (*Kleine Schriften* III, p. 437), comments on the difference in the moment chosen between the western concept, which shows the struggle in process, and Mesopotamian art, which shows the victor sparing the lion, lifted after the struggle is over.

⁵ It is due to Peisander or to Stesichorus,—ROBERT, *Bild und Lied*, p. 173.

⁶ For a list of the attributes of Heracles see *Daremberg et Saglio*, under *Heracles*.

⁷ APOLLODORUS, II, 4, 10. The Nemean lion was not skinned, but carried intact to Mycenae, *ib.* II, 5, I. See also PTOLEMAUS, E,—ὁ Ἡρακλῆς οὐχι τὸ τοῦ Νεμεαίου λέοντος δέρας ἡμίσιχετο.

⁸ So Paris wears a leopard skin.

⁹ The scholiast on *Theocritus* XIII, 6, mentions three lions slain by Heracles,—the Heliconian, the Lesbian and the Nemean. Note that in Homer, Heracles wears a belt decorated with lions and bears, but it is not said that he slew them, (*Od.* XI, 611).

¹⁰ *AJA.*, XX (2) 1916, p. 470.

popular subject for Attic vase painters. It¹ is found also on coins, temple sculpture and sculpture in the round. Its treatment in detail will be taken up later.

The lion is an occasional attribute of Dionysos, although the panther is more frequently employed. Like ἄλιος² γέρων and Thetis, Dionysos can at will take on the form of a roaring³ lion; and his chariot may be drawn by a lion yoked with a panther.⁴ It may be noted that Dionysos was added to the Greek Pantheon so late that there is no doubt of his foreign origin. This point is to be borne in mind along with the nature of the attribute, and the legend of his birth in Thebes, the native city of Heracles.

Thetis is apparently the only female deity possessing the power of voluntary transformation⁵ into a lion; but the lion as attribute accompanies other goddesses,—Hera,⁶ Rhea Cybele, “seated above⁷ lions,” who changes offenders into lions,⁸ Artemis in whose procession at Syracuse a lioness was carried,⁹ and the nymph Cyrene¹⁰ who wrestles with lions. Perhaps here should be added the nymph Circe who by drink transforms¹¹ her victims into lions, swine, etc. The lion is used also as an attribute of the so-called Persian Artemis, πότνια θήρων, a decorative *schema* particularly common on vases.

¹ The significance of Heracles the lion strangler becomes figurative in the fifth century. HOLM, *History of Greece*, III, p. 413, notes that it is a democratic type for coins, appearing, for instance, in Syracuse after the victory over Athens in 413 B.C.

² *Od.*, IV, 456.

³ *Homeric Hymn*, VII, 44. Note also on vases that maenads in frenzy are accompanied sometimes by a lion, the spirit of Dionysos.

⁴ Phineus cup, *F.-R.* I, 41. Cf. this lion with that on an Ionic amphora in the University Museum in Philadelphia,—*Museum Journal*, V, 1914, p. 221, fig. 110.

⁵ See ROSCHER, *op. cit.*, under *Peleus*, VI.

⁶ PERCY GARDNER, *Samos and Samian Coins*, p. 13, lists two vases, and, on the evidence of TERTULLIAN, *De Corona*, 7, a statue showing the animal or its skin as attribute of Hera, cf. *Iliad*, XXI, 483.

⁷ SOPHOCLES, *Philoctetes* 401.

⁸ SERVIUS *ad Aen.*, III, 113.

⁹ THEOCRITUS, II, 68.

¹⁰ Cf. STUDNICZKA, *Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin*, Leipzig, 1890, especially p. 28, fig. 20.

¹¹ All such transformations whether of god or mortal are made for the purpose of striking terror into the soul of enemy or offender. Only one case is for honour of the transformed,—the variant transformation of Cadmos and Harmonia, stated in *Ptolemaeus*, A.

These deities and heroes are non-Hellenic, adopted from barbarians like Cybele¹ and Dionysos²; or like Artemis³ survivals of pre-Greek times, or like Nereus, Proteus, Glaucos and his daughter Thetis they are epic creations. The lion, which is associated with them, is never the attribute of a pure Greek deity. There is accordingly no ground here for belief that the Greeks were familiar with living lions. Had they been so, there is every reason to believe that they would have used the lion for attribute of some great god, not of Zeus,⁴ for he is a sky god, but perhaps of Pluto,⁵ or even of Apollo, who in Asia has the lion⁶ as an attribute.

In addition to this sort of evidence, some may be gathered from literature. Greek literature affords two sorts of evidence, statement of fact and allusion,—that is, the use of certain figurative expressions which indicate on the writer's and also on the reader's part some familiarity with the appearance and habits of the animal. Allusions are of little value because most of them are essentially not historical. The vivid similes of Homer must be disregarded as being, like the Mycenaean dagger-blades, evidence only of the artist's knowledge; and the creator, whatever he may have been, was not a mainland Greek. The literature of historical Greece both in poetry⁷ and drama uses stereotyped expressions copied indirectly from Homer, but weakened in the lapse of time, in effect almost proverbial.³ So one finds in the *Electra* of Euripides, 1162,—*ὁρέα τις ὡς λέαιν' ὀργάδων δρύοχα νερόμενα*, and

¹ Athenian tradition brings her from Anatolia, GRAILLOT, *Le Culte de Cybèle Mère des Dieux*, p. 9.

² J. HARRISON, *Prolegomena*, p. 365, and NORWOOD, *The Riddle of the Bacchae*, p. 74 ff.; cf. also DAVIS, *The Asiatic Dionysos*.

³ J. HARRISON, *op. cit.*, p. 299, note 2.

⁴ The lions on the footstools of the statue of Zeus at Olympia are mere decoration.—*Paus.*, V, XI, 7.

⁵ Hades in Etruscan art wears a dog skin,—*Mon. Ant.*, IX, XV^a from the tomba del Orco, cf. *Annali* 1870, p. 27.

⁶ See *supra* p. 2, note 1.

⁷ The vivid phraseology of Hesiodic poetry can not here be considered as of value, because it so obviously is patterned after the Homeric, whether similes like those in the *Shield of Heracles* (401 ff. or 426 ff.), or descriptions of Phoenician work (ib. 168 ff.).

⁸ In the *Theogony* 1007, Achilles is called the lion-hearted, an epithet of Richard I of England. The frequency of the lion as an heraldic badge in England where the animal is not native is a curious parallel to the use in Greece. In both countries it is purely decorative.

in the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus, 924, Pylades and Orestes are called διπλοῦς λέων. In Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1573, two men are said to grapple¹ ὥστε λέοντας ἐναύλους μαρναμένους ἐπὶ τραύμασιν. Of as little value are descriptions of works of art such as are found in all periods of Greek literature, from the shield of Achilles through various votive objects in Olympia and Delphi down to the slaying of the Nemean lion in the twenty-fifth idyll of Theocritus.

On the other hand, considerable value would seem to attach to certain statements of fact,—

HERODOTUS VII, 126.

XENOPHON (?) *Cynegeticus* XI.

ARISTOTLE *H. A.*, VI, 31, and VIII, 28 (copying Herod. VII, 126, but adding Libya).

PAUSANIAS VI, 5, 3.

PLINY *N. H.*, VIII, 17 (16).

These authorities however are of very unequal value. The tale of Herodotus anent the Thracian lions that attacked the camel train of Xerxes near Abdera, although repeated in substance by later writers and defended by many scholars,² is essentially absurd.³ It is of course possible that lions impressed by the strong smell of the camel should attack the train; but it is scarcely probable that they would not likewise have attacked other beasts

¹ The motive of grappling lions is very rare in Greek art. It is found only on one sarcophagus from Clazomene, published *A. D.*, II, 58, and on one Mycenaean gem, *A. G.*, p. 51, fig. 33, where the motive is reminiscent of Mesopotamia.

² The most ingenious explanation is by KELLER, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff. The suggestion that the lions had followed the army of Dareios was anticipated by ARISTOGEITON M. SOHO in an unpublished dissertation presented to the Johns Hopkins University in 1898. This dissertation I have been allowed to read through the courtesy of Professor Robinson.

³ There are in Herodotus's account of the expedition of Xerxes other details equally fantastic. Among them may be mentioned:—

I How the various rivers were dried up, some of them drained by the watering of the innumerable pack animals, others literally drunk dry by the troops,—the Lissus VII, 108, the Nessus VII, 109, the Scamander VII, 43, the Echidorus VII, 127, the Onochonos VII, 196.

II How large numbers of troops were killed by lightning, VII, 42.

III How counter to Xerxes' boast, VII, 50, that the army had with it a large supply of food the invaders ate out of house and home such Greeks as were friendly, VII, 118 ff.

IV How Thessaly might be made into a lake by damming the mouth of the Peneus River, VII, 130.

of burden at the same time. Macan, the most authoritative editor of Herodotus, in his commentary, Vol. 1, part one, p. 160, has a good note (5) to the effect that Herodotus's astonishment at the lions' plundering (κεράζειν) the camels does not necessarily imply that he believed the fact. Macan doubts the whole story, and suggests that Herodotus was constrained to account for the non-appearance of the camel train in Greece. "This is the last we hear of them on the march." Macan further points out that there is no proof that Herodotus was in Greece before the writing of this part of his work, which he may well have copied from Hecataeus. Usener¹ offers an aetiological explanation for the story,—“Manifesto fabulam sequitur ex ipso illo nummorum signo ortam.”

Xenophon is likely to accept tradition without inquiring too closely into its truth. Whether or not the Athenian dilettante wrote the *Cynegeticus*, there is nothing in the book to convince one that lions existed in Greece. The passage reads,—λέοντες . . . ἀλίσκονται ἐν ξέναις χώραις περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ τὸν Κίττον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μυσίῳ καὶ ἐν Πίνδῳ τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν, ὅσα οἶα τ' ἐστὶ τρέφειν τοιαῦτα. The ξέναι χώραι are, except Pindus, outside Greece. The so-called lions of Pindus might well be the mountain lions of which Greek literature makes frequent mention, a creature such as the frenzied mother of Pentheus thinks she sees in the pine tree. This perhaps is not so absurd as we imagine, for PEASE,² quotes African travellers and natives of the present day to the effect that lions are known to climb trees in Burka and carry off the gum hunters. At least *felis leo* does not haunt mountains,—and all the places here enumerated are mountains.

Both Aristotle and Pausanias repeat the information given by Herodotus who says that the lion is found in Greece about the river Nessos. Aristotle is a native of the region in question, and is accordingly expected to speak with authority. Yet he copies Herodotus, though he does scorn the latter's theory³ which accounts by natural means for the scarcity of the lion. Like many modern hunters Aristotle does not believe that the lion is always formidable, but he credits him with magnanimity and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 447.

² *The Book of the Lion*, p. 172.

³ ARISTOTLE, VI, 31, 579 a2: HERODOTUS, III, 108.

courage.¹ A large part of his data is hearsay,—it could not be otherwise for a man of his day undertaking so comprehensive a task as the *Historia Animalium*. When he says that the lion has only one bone in its neck,² that its bones are so hard that when struck together they produce sparks,³ that no bones except the humerus and femur have marrow, that the lioness has only two teats,⁴ we may realize that he is not an infallible guide.

Pausanias is not overcritical of tradition, except where some point strikes him as absurd. There is nothing absurd in a tradition of the existence of lions in Greece⁵ whether or not it is founded on fact. Consequently, when Pausanias (VI, V, 3) says that lions abound in the highlands of Thrace, and that in the vicinity of Abdera lions attacked the army of Xerxes, he obviously is copying Herodotus. Since the original statement of Herodotus is more than doubtful, those who follow his authority are not above suspicion. Certainly Pliny's statement (*N. H.* VIII, (17), 16) "In Europa autem inter Acheloum tantum Nestumque amnes leones esse," is no more worthy of belief than are the statements of his predecessors. His uncritical, accretive manner of writing makes it probable that on this point as on so many others he copied what he read.

Indeed it seems more than probable that all these ancient writers are handing on one tradition, Herodotus copying from Hecataeus, the author of the *Cynegeticus* from Herodotus or an intermediate source, Pausanias from the author of the *Cynegeticus* or some one intermediate, and Pliny from any one of them, possibly from all. It is then very questionable whether in classical times the ancients knew anything about lions in European Greece. The finding of a fossilized skull⁶ in Greece proves nothing for historical times. Lions in the pre-glacial period must have been fairly common all over southern Europe, if the cave drawings in Spain and France are any guide.

¹ LONES, *Aristotle's Researches in Natural Science*, p. 259 and *passim*.

² Aristotle, II, I (497 b).

³ *Ib.*, III, 7.

⁴ *Ib.*, II, 1.

⁵ According to naturalists they live "in sandy plains or rocky places interspersed with dense thorn thickets, or haunt low bushes and tall grass and reeds by the side of streams and springs," *Encyc. Brit.*, under *Lion*. The Peloponese, the Valley of the Taygetus or Cyllene could support lions as well as could the Scamander valley.

⁶ A. B. MEYER, *The Antiquity of the Lion in Greece*, in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1903, p. 664.

CHAPTER II

PAINTED LIONS

AMONG painted lions are found the oldest Greek representations of the animal, the greatest number of specimens, and the widest variety in pose. Owing to the lack of wall paintings antedating those of Pompeii, the material is confined to painted sarcophagi and to Corinthian, Ionic, and Attic vases.

We first find the lion represented on Dipylon ware,—its figure recognizable despite its grotesquerie, always by elongated claws and prominent teeth, and less invariably by a schematized mane. Two large amphoras in New York give primitive representations of the two commonest motives of the lion in Greek decorative art,—(1) lions opposed in pairs;¹ (2) a lion bringing down a bull. On the first vase,² appear several characteristics which persist in Greek art:

(1) The lifted fore paw: this occurs frequently, especially in the type of the lion passant in Ionic art; it is to be traced back to the Hittite.³

(2) The spiral treatment of the tail.

¹ MURRAY (*Perspective as Applied in Early Greek Art*, *JHS.*, (II), 1881, p. 318 ff.) put forward the theory that heraldic opposition is due not to a desire for symmetry, but to an attempt to show as much of any given animal as is possible. "Two lions amicably confronted are an absurd spectacle to common sense." When the Greeks perceived this, they advanced a stage and represented the lion in profile with head full front. If this be true, the Greeks must soon have developed appreciation of decoration pure and simple, or they would not have so long retained the old "absurd" pose. Be this as it may, the grouping of lions heraldically is not a Greek invention. PERROT and CHAPIEZ (IX, p. 266) note that when the lions are face to face, there is Assyrian influence at work; when they are back to back, Egyptian.

² No. 10.210.8.

³ GARSTANG, *The Land of the Hittites*, pl. XXXIX. POULSEN (*Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, p. 121 and fig. 3), traces it through Phoenician and Assyrian art.

(3) The representation of the profile head, always with open jaws.¹

(4) The schematization of the mane, making a distinction between the front hair rendered as if it were a ruff,² and the rest represented by many more or less parallel lines. The mane when so rendered is always too small in proportion to the body.

(5) The reverted head, reminiscent of Mycenaean composition.

The second vase³ shows one of the earliest attempts to foreshorten the head as seen in front view. The moon-faced result is far from happy, and should be compared with a Cypriote plastic fragment⁴ in New York. The scale-like⁵ rendering of the mane is reminiscent of Mycenaean pattern work.

Such occasional reminiscences of the Mycenaean are the less surprising if one accepts as fact the theory of the continuation of the Dipylon Geometric out of the earlier civilization,—a blind copying⁶ of something gone before. Poor as are the figures of men and horses on these vases, they suggest more than do the lions acquaintance with the real object back of the picture. There is a certain feeling for the stride of the horses, but none for the tenseness of the lion, which in the second vase holds the deer neither by teeth nor by claws, but only by a foreleg laid limply across its victim's flank.

Another geometric⁷ vase, in Copenhagen, shows a rather unusual motive,—a man attacked by lions.⁸ This motive recurs

¹ In this respect very different from the Egyptian, where the mouth is shut, and rather more like the Assyrian.

² The ruff is found on Egyptian lions as early as the first dynasty, but it is a plain ridge. In Assyrian art, which tries to represent the texture as well as the mass of hair, such ridges are incised.

³ No. 11.210.1 described by G. M. A. RICHTER, *op. cit.*, p. 49 ff., fig. 26. This vase, she thinks, shows little Oriental influence, but much Minoan and geometric influence.

⁴ MYRES, *op. cit.*, No. 1393.

⁵ Cf. the κρηνοφύλαξ from Olympia, *infra*, p. 28 ff.

⁶ Cf. a fragment from Delos, *P-C.*, IX, p. 481, fig. 240, a lion drawn in true profile with only two legs, and a dotted body, and posed to fill the space.

⁷ *P-C.*, VII, p. 181, fig. 66.

⁸ Cf. the *stele* described *infra*, p. 35 ff. Cf. also the decoration on the lid of a large gold box from Vulci, now in the Antiquarium in Munich, described by CURTIS in the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. I, 1915-1916, p. 82 ff.

on the Chigi¹ vase, but is rare. Perrot and Chipiez² suggest that it was borrowed from the East³ or from Mycenae. It is found in Egyptian art of the first dynasty,—*e.g.*, on a stone palette⁴ in the British Museum, on which is represented a lion holding in his mouth the limp body of a man. Later the Phoenicians took it over. Except for an example in gold from the Acropolis⁵ finds,

¹ A. D. II, 45. This vase is commonly classed as proto-Corinthian. The classification may be questioned for these reasons:—

- (a) A certain amount of landscape ornament appears in the lowest frieze, (cf. M. HEINEMANN, *Landschaftliche Elemente in der griechischen Kunst bis zu Polygnot*, Bonn, 1910). The bush or tree motive is not Ionic, but is frequently found in Etruscan painting.
- (b) The lion's mane in the hunt scene is done in flame locks, and continues along the back to the root of the tail. POULSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 118, shows this to be a trick found only in Etruscan art and in objects from the Nimrud find.
- (c) The motive of a lion slaying a man is rare in Greek art but common in Etruscan; see MORIN-JEAN, *Dessin des Animaux*, p. 151.
- (d) Certain figures have not the Greek dress, *i.e.*, the spearman behind the lion, who wears a peculiar belt; so also the other spearman and the horseman. The flute player in the warrior frieze wears a sub-Mycenaean costume.
- (e) The clay is, as KARO says in the text to the plate, "warm gelb und nicht sehr fein, also von dem hellen grünlichen feingeschlammten Thone des gewöhnlichen protokorinthischen Vasen verschieden."
- (f) The vase was found near Vulci. It probably therefore is of Etruscan fabric, imitating proto-Corinthian ware, but showing certain native elements.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ So also BRUNN, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, I, p. 131, who comments on the artist's copying a given model.

⁴ CAPART, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 240, fig. 179. For a discussion of the man eater see S. REINACH, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, I, p. 279 ff.

⁵ A. Z., 1884, pl. 9, No. 2. This is however not a happy example, for as FURTWÄNGLER says (col. 103), the man appears to thrust his head into the lion's mouth. Furthermore, he wears, if not a helmet, at least the long curl characteristic of Hittite art. He wears also a wide belt; and his general appearance is to be compared to the figure on a cylinder of Chaldaea before the time of Gudea, (WARD, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 169, No. 453). WARD notes that in this motive the victim is on one knee,—that there is here the "knee-running" motive, which is less sensible in the Greek group balanced heraldically. A better parallel is in WARD, *op. cit.*, p. 66, No. 160, where there is twice represented the motive of the lion conqueror, and a diminutive running Gilgamesh grasps the fore paws of the rearing lions. This makes a better parallel than the lion conqueror for such gems as the Mycenaean (TSOUNTAS and MANATT, *The Mycenaean Age*, p. 160, fig. 54) because there the figure stands erect.

the motive seems otherwise unknown in Greek art. The bronzes from the Acropolis¹ and from Aegina,² as well as the silver plaque from Delphi,³ are not to be classed as showing the same motive, for their composition is purely heraldic and decorative, and the small figure is obviously a stop-gap. Kalkmann⁴ follows Dumm-ler⁵ in finding Assyrian influence in this figure, and gives a list of representations of the theme with variant animals. It is possible that such grouping is merely caused by misunderstanding of the *πόρνια θήρων* motive, by enlarging the animals⁶ and diminishing the central figures to the point of insignificance. Obviously the motive is of foreign origin. That foreign influence was manifested early in Greece is noted by Walters,⁷ who says that it cuts short the real geometric.

So far as can be determined, the use of lions in early native Greek pottery, before the beginning of Ionic influence, is purely decorative. In its copying of motives little understood,⁸ it is almost decadent. Pairs of opposing lions are frequent, beginning with the Bourgon⁹ *lebes* in the British Museum, continuing through black-figured ware. They are done often with reserved spaces as in the Cretan technique, and very often with reverted heads. From the ears hang long leaf-like pendants which indicate the ruff; the muzzle is outlined as in Egypt; the tendency to pattern work is shown in the banding of the tail above the tuft, and in the effort to indicate the sinews of the fore legs, with the resultant appearance of pantalettes. There is also a tendency to repeat the same figure mechanically¹⁰ in different compositions, irrespective of its value.

In early vases the frieze of animals is common. The continuous frieze is a natural decoration for rounded objects, and orig-

¹ *JHS.*, XIII, 1892-1893, p. 256, fig. 25.

² *Aegina Publication*, pl. CXIV, 3.

³ *Fouilles de Delphes*, 5, p. 124, fig. 466.

⁴ *Jhb.*, X, 1895, p. 68, note 74.

⁵ *R. M.*, III, 1888, p. 164. Cf. POULSEN, *op. cit.*, chap. IX.

⁶ Cf. the grouping of the Medusa pediment in Corfu, where the flanking lions are quite separated from the central figure.

⁷ *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, p. 249.

⁸ As DE RIDDER says (*op. cit.*, I, p. 33), the lion is like a poor translation of an original little understood.

⁹ WALTERS, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 296, fig. 87.

¹⁰ Cf. a Boeotian tripodic vase in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8110, where the seated lion with lifted foreleg is seen alone and in heraldic group.

inally appeared in Chaldaean¹ art, and, later, on the Phoenician bowls. When the line of movement is checked by a figure turned to face another, the variation generally grows out of the motive of the bull slayer, so that, whether continuous in movement or broken into groups, the frieze and its elements come from Eastern prototypes.

Perrot and Chipiez² have said that in mainland Greece, the lion is never represented with indigenous fauna. This apparently takes no account of the motive of the bull slayer and its modifications, nor of such vases as the Caeretan *hydria*³ in Berlin which shows a lion attacking a mule or a donkey. Certain it is that on Corinthian and Ionic vases the usual companions of the lion are the panther with head full front, the sphinx, and the long-horned goats that one does not expect to find in Greece itself. As part of the chain of evidence for the foreign character of the lion, this is not to be ignored. The frequency of the lion on Ionic vases is explained, for Ionia has many obvious points of contact with the nearer East, which is a home for the lion. It is to be noted however that nearness of contact by no means implies a naturalistic representation. The Ionic artists do not always work from nature,⁴ but find their models in previous or contemporary art, and repeat their copy indefinitely. The lions on their vases are all of a pattern,—short-bodied, snarling creatures with tail lifted and one fore paw raised. To see one such frieze, is to see practically all.

On the Attic vases, however, there is more variety of pose and style. This is due principally to the more varied artistic activity in Attica. On proto-Attic vases, as Perrot and Chipiez⁵ have noted, lions of foreign type are used. In the seated lion, which as a mere stopgap ornament faces the chariot on the Peiraeus⁶ *amphora*, artificiality of type appears in its spiral tail, and in the

¹ *E.g.*, a mace head dedicated by Mesilim to the god Ningirsu, DE SARZEC, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 25 bis No. 1. Friezes of various kinds of animals may be found on the walls of Egyptian tombs, *P-C.*, I, figs. 22, 183, 456.

² *Op. cit.*, VII, p. 221.

³ *A. D.*, II, pl. 28.

⁴ *P-C.*, IX, p. 452. By the late seventh century, the lion was found probably only in the highlands of Asia Minor.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, X, p. 80.

⁶ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1897, pls. V, VI. *The Olympia Publication*, 4, pl. LVII, No. 967, shows a bronze figurine with a spiral tail like this lion. Cf. a bronze figurine in Boston, No. 01.7469. See *infra*, p. 26, note 3.

reserved spaces on belly and mane, as well as in pose. The seated lion seems primarily a funereal type; certainly it is such in sculpture, but on vases the pose seems determined largely by considerations of space.¹ Among black-figured vases there is more material for study of types, because besides using the lion as a decorative motive, the artists very frequently employ the theme of Heracles slaying the Nemean lion.² Whether rearing or crouching,³ the lion is treated always alike; a body proportionate in length, but too narrow at the withers in comparison with the thickness of the neck, a tail far too long, and fantastically waved to get from it as much decorative effect as possible, a fringe of hair along the haunches and occasionally on the back at the root of the tail, thin sinewy legs, a muzzle pointed in profile and too long; and no attempt to differentiate front and back mane. In general, the lion is reminiscent of the Ionic. A second motive used frequently is the lion seeking his prey.⁴ Aside from the common type of the lion on the back of a bull,⁵ there is that of two lions attacking a bull. A *skyphos* in Boston⁶ shows a remarkable group of a herd⁷ attacked by a lion; two of the bulls seem about to charge the marauder, and one, restless, turns away its head. Whether the lion is alone or accompanied by another which attacks the victim from the other end, and so makes a balanced group, the beast of prey always has the characteristics of a dog; with forequarters lowered, and open mouth and lashing tail, he seems almost to bark. For such a balanced group see a proto-Corinthian *lekythos*⁸ in

¹ *F.-R.* 31.

² See Stephen B. Luce, Jr., *AJA.*, XX, (2) 1916, p. 460 ff., for a list of vases showing this motive, the most popular in Attica.

³ A distinction made by FURTWÄNGLER in the *Catalogue of Berlin Vases*.

⁴ HOMER uses in the *Iliad* some thirty-eight times in simile the lion seeking its prey. The *Odyssey* contains very few references to lions, only ten in all, and of these but four concern the seeking of prey.

⁵ In groups of this kind the lion is always as large as the bull, or even larger. This is chiefly because if the lion were represented as smaller, the decorative effect would be lessened.

⁶ Cf. a *skyphos* in Naples,—HEINEMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 76, *abb.*, 14.

⁷ Cf. *Iliad* XV, 630 ff.,—

ὥς τε λέων ὀλοόφρων βουσὶν ἐπελθὼν,
αἶρά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μέγαλοιο νέμονται
μυρίαι.

This motive is Oriental in origin,—see MORIN-JEAN, *op. cit.*, p. 137, note I.

⁸ Published by FURTWÄNGLER, *A. Z.*, XLI, 1883, pl. 10 (2) and col. 153 ff.

Berlin, on which two lions¹ attack a bull, and are in turn attacked by herdsmen. In describing this vase, Furtwängler comments on the fact that in Homer and on pre-Greek gems and dagger-blades the lion hunt is part of ordinary life, but later it vanishes; that the decoration of the Hesiodic *Shield* has only two boars with lions; that the first labour of Heracles displaces the lion hunt, and after that men fight only boars. Certainly except for the Gigan-tomachy,² all struggle with lions is absorbed by the motive of the Nemean lion until the hunt is revived through the influence of Alexander the Great who became enthusiastic over the sport in the *παράδεισοι* of the East.³

On vases especially may be found representations of the lion as attribute of god or hero. The popularity of the motive of Heracles and the lion has already been mentioned. Another popular subject is the transformation of Thetis,⁴ of which the most famous example is the Peitheinos⁵ cup, where the lion seems to be copied from the model used for the shield device mentioned below; and one of the most peculiar⁶ shows a panther standing on the back of Peleus and the right shoulder of Thetis, and a lion head emerging from her left shoulder. This head has peculiar up-standing locks to indicate the profile of the mane, as spirals indicate the ruff on the *lekythos* just mentioned. Dionysos with lions is found on many vases. Sometimes he rides in a car drawn by a lion⁷ and a panther,⁸ or in the form of his attribute or embodied in its skin⁹ alone, accompanies his maenads.

Red-figured vases show very few lions except the Nemean lion. Since the scenes on such vases are limited to Greek myths and to scenes from daily life, this omission points to the non-existence of the lion in Greece in the early fifth century. On such vases, how-

¹ Note the spirals to indicate the ruff, very like the stylization of the crest of the griffin in Cretan art,—DUSSAUD, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques*, pl. I.

² *Q. v.*, *infra*, chap. III.

³ The east was always devoted to the sport, and doubtless spread it over the early Hellenic as well as over the Graeco-Roman world.

⁴ For a list of vases showing this subject, see *Jhb.*, I, 1886, p. 201 ff.

⁵ HARTWIG, *Meisterschalen*, XXIV.

⁶ WALTERS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 121, fig. 128.

⁷ *F.-R.*, I, pl. 41.

⁸ SANDYS in commentary on EURIPIDES, *Bacchae* 1017 (p. 208) says, "It is highly probable that by 'lion' in these passages a panther is meant." If this be true always, it is difficult to see why the two animals should appear yoked together.

⁹ WALTERS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 59, fig. 120.

ever, the lion in a very subordinate way serves as an ornamental device for the shields of warriors, and as a fountain head. The former is found frequently.¹ The lion here seems to be largely heraldic,² although there may be a certain instinct for the apotropaic where the head only is used. If such passages as ASCHYLUS, *Septem*, 375-650, where the messenger describes in detail the appearance and shields of each of the Seven, and *Pausanias* X, 26, 3, are to be taken as criteria, the shield device should have some personal significance, whether it refers to some event in the life of the warrior, or symbolizes his courage. It would be interesting to see whether certain heroes above others use the blazon and whether any significance can be deduced. On the shields, one finds the lion attacking a deer,³ and the protome,⁴ sometimes winged, or the profile⁵ head with snarling mouth, but most frequently the springing lion. This is found on shields of certain non-Greek heroes,—Aeneas,⁶ Telamon,⁷ Neoptolemos,⁸ and on shields of many unnamed⁹ heroes, especially in contests of Greeks against Amazons.¹⁰ It seems to be simply a decorative emblem of valour, with nothing personal in its application. The springing lion is copied after a stock pattern. It looks decidedly like a barking dog, with forequarters lowered, right paw raised, and tail curled into a decorative spiral. It is most often painted in silhouette, with the mane indicated by a jagged neck profile, but

¹ For a list of monuments showing the lion as a shield device, see G. H. CHASE, in *Harvard Studies*, XIII (1902) p. 112 ff.

² The idea doubtless goes back to metal shields with relief figures such as were found in Crete from the beginning of the seventh century, *P-C*, 7, VII. 131-2, fig. 19-20; cf. also the large bronze votive shield from Van (Hittite). For a similar use of a satyr head on a shield see the signed *amphora* of Euthymides in Munich, *F.-R.* I, pl. 14 (2).

³ *P-C*, X, p. 293, fig. 192.

⁴ *JHS.*, IV, 1883, pl. XXXI.

⁵ HARTWIG, *op. cit.*, XXII, 2.

⁶ In *F.-R.*, 85, the device recalls the style of the sculptured lions of the Nereid Monument.

⁷ Arezzo crater, *F.-R.*, 61.

⁸ *F.-R.*, 54. The shield was his father's before him. On a r. f. *stamnos* attributed to Euthymides, the shield of Achilles which is carried by Patroclus bears the hind quarters of a lion,—*Notizie degli Scavi de Antichita*, 1916, p. 47, fig. 5.

⁹ *F.-R.*, 84.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 58.

occasionally¹ it is drawn in outline, with an attempt to differentiate the ruff from the rest of the mane.

The second class is rare on red-figured vases. The best examples of it are found in the black-figured technique, beginning with the François vase. These fountain heads are used in such scenes as the slaying of Priam's son by the spring house, or a simple genre picture of women filling pitchers. The heads are done preferably in profile,² for then the stream of water can be shown, but sometimes the heads are full front, shaped like inverted triangles, with little that can be called leonine.

Why lion heads are used for water spouts is discussed below in Chapter III; but we may note here Cook's remark³ that links the lion with the ass as a symbol of the chthonian Dionysos. The chthonian aspect of the lion on vases is further seen in some few representations of it as an ornament for a tomb, either as an actual part of the monument,⁴ or a guardian if not an embodiment⁵ of the spirit of the dead.

The most common use of the lion in the chthonian sense, although one is not sure how conscious this use may be, is on the painted sarcophagi from Clazomene. These sarcophagi use for decoration of small panels along the upper edge the motive of a lion facing a boar.⁶ So far is the old "slaying" motive broken up that the boar is scarcely conscious of his enemy, who stands before him in a futile pose, with one paw lifted.⁷ Sometimes the motive is varied by placing a deer or a boar between a lion and a panther, and in one instance there is a lion combat.⁸ As has been said, the boar comes to take the place of the bull as victim to the lion,—a point that makes more significant the test to which Admetos was submitted⁹ when he sought the hand of Alcestis. These sarcophagi show a monotonous repetition of type and only slight variety in treatment of details according as the technique

¹ *Ib.*, 85.

² *A. D.*, II, 19.

³ *JHS.*, XIV, 1894, p. 119.

⁴ *BMC. Vases*, B 49, p. 64.

⁵ BRÜCKNER, *Der Friedhof am Eridanus*, p. 109, fig. 70.

⁶ Cf. the Pamphaios cup, WALTERS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 59, fig. 120.

⁷ It is scarcely possible that this should be an attempt to show that a lion sometimes stuns his prey with a blow of a fore paw.

⁸ *A. D.*, II, pl. 58.

⁹ Admetus was to yoke a lion and a boar; cf. the vision of Adrastus concerning Polyneices and Tydeus as a lion and a boar. Cf. also APOLLODORUS 3, 6, I.

is dark-figured or light-figured. In the dark-figured¹ technique, the face of the lion is reserved, there is a reserved line to indicate the shoulder joint and to show the crossing of one leg over another. In the other² technique, the body is frequently dotted over as if to indicate the short hair of the pelt, and the mane is set off from the rest of the body by a spiral line, and is indicated by short parallel lines with a fringe for the ruff. The nose and mouth are wrinkled in a snarl, and the Ionic "prophylactic" eye is prominent. On the whole, the lions are much better done on these sarcophagi than they are on other pottery. Here appears a more just idea of the lion's force, especially on the black-figured sarcophagi. This superiority may be due to the Asiatic provenance of the sarcophagi, rather than to greater ability of the artist, for the human figures and other animals are not better than in contemporary pottery.

Lions, singly or in combination, offer then a very popular subject for pottery of many kinds, but one essentially decorative, except in the relatively few cases when the lion is a divine attribute; and even then the treatment is decorative.³ The motives are taken from foreign art, and the individual figures are drawn from the artist's imagination assisted by a practical knowledge of canine forms and habits.

¹ *A. D.*, II, pl. 26.

² *Ib.*, pl. 25.

³ So true is this that one even finds lions in the midst of birds and fish,—*BRUNN*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 120, fig. 82.

CHAPTER III

SCULPTURED LIONS

THE number of lions in Greek sculpture is small. They may be divided into two classes according to technique, those in relief and those in the round,¹ but the groups overlap in subject and style, and cannot well be treated separately. The number of poses is small. There is first and probably oldest, the motive of the lion bringing down a bull. 'Such a group ornamented the pediments of early temples on the Acropolis' and elsewhere. The type is confined to work in relief, whether high or low. Why this should be is hard to determine, unless it be that the value of the group is more decorative² than vital. To the Greek whose religion is in the anthropomorphic stage, who worships gods in human form, though often with animal attributes, relatively slight religious significance would attach to a combat of animals. Accordingly, the motive has not sufficient ideality to justify carving it in the round, like statues of the gods or a chariot³ group, but for the value of the ornament the flat decorative treatment persists. This statement does not imply that the group lacks symbolic significance or is used solely to gratify the artist's delight in action and changing line. It is in fact doubtful whether anything in classical Greek art except geometric linear ornament is solely decorative,—i.e., has no significance further than to satisfy a sense for beauty, without intending to suggest some religious idea, some mythological allusion, some ethical principal. Now the bull slayer has some meaning to us unknown, but apparently fundamental, else why should it decorate coins, vases, stelae, sarcophagi, even in Athens the old temple of Athena,

¹ WIEGAND, *Poros Architectur der Akropolis*, p. 223 and fig. 239, p. 222. *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pls. XXXII and XXXIII.

² MRS. STRONG, *Apotheosis and After Life*, p. 136. She gives a different interpretation to the motive when used in the cult of Mithra. Cf. SARTIAUX, *R. A.* (XXII), 1913, p. 365. See also *infra*, chapter IV, p. 39; CROWFOOT in *JHS.*, XX, 1900, p. 118 ff. connects the motive with Dionysos, and traces it back to the time of human sacrifice and cannibalism.

³ The chariot group has some symbolic value. Frequently it is connected with the cult of the dead; it may be a votive offering; or it may be used as the basis for a cult image.

who seems to have no relation with either bull or lion?¹ Accordingly, when I call the motive decorative rather than vital, it is because, while the significance of it may be hidden and only the effectiveness self evident, I feel that its limitation signifies something to the Greeks less vital than other and later motives. Just as the Doric architrave perpetuates in marble the peculiar details² which were necessary in the wood of the original form and were kept simply because the pattern was venerable with age, so the motive of the bull slayer persists in flat technique.³ The examples cited by Walzinger⁴ show the earliest Attic treatment of the subject in sculpture. Shear⁵ mentions the recurrence of the motive in "regions affected by Oriental⁶ influence," and says that all scenes of the kind can be traced back to Eastern⁷ prototypes.

An interesting variant of this motive comes from Assos,⁸ a lion bringing down a deer.⁹ The execution of the lion's body is good; the legs and tail are well placed, and there is a sense of

¹ But see BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 215, fig. 169, where Athena wears a lion helmet. That she is the patroness of a lion hero is scarcely sufficient reason for connecting her with his attribute. Cf. the Pergamene relief of Athena, flanked by lions and bulls.

² See LEICESTER B. HOLLAND, *The Origin of the Doric Entablature*, *AJA.*, XXI (2) 1917, p. 117 ff.

³ The trivial character to which the motive may sink is seen in its being used in subordinate decoration on the capitals of columns,—*Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. XX.

⁴ In WIEGAND, *op. cit.*, chap. VI, p. 214 ff., WALZINGER points out that the group represented in Fig. 230 (a and b) is probably not from a temple, for it is in high relief and is quadrangular in composition (see p. 216).

⁵ *AJA.*, XVIII (2) 1914, p. 290 ff.

⁶ DE SARZEC, *op. cit.*, pl. 46, No. 3, and p. 266 ff., shows one of the earliest reproductions of the motive,—“of remote antiquity—epoch of the kings of Kish,” *i.e.*, about 3000 B.C. Historical Tarsus has the bull slayer for its type (HILL, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 98).

⁷ In the East the motive in plastic art typifies the victory of light and heat over darkness and wet, for it is a zodiacal sign,—see LENORMANT, *Origines de l'Histoire d'après le Bible et les Traditions des Peuples Orientaux*, I, p. 240. Note t. XII.

⁸ *B.-B.*, pl. 412, b.

⁹ A similar group decorated the temple of Apollo in Delphi,—*Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. XXXII. The execution of this group is poor, especially the barrel shaped bodies.

mass and strength; but the figure shows defects of representation that linger through Greek art,—a tail much too long and a mane too small. The face is worn away from exposure to weather, but apparently it also was too small. The mane does not cover the shoulders, and is done in long lines,¹ crosscut, which give the effect of the netted blankets used on horses in Mesopotamian² art, and are reminiscent of the Chaldean manner of rendering hairy and feathered surfaces. The spread fore paws, that reveal the claws, are borrowed from Mesopotamian art,³ where even the earliest Gilgamesh seals show spread paws. That this is only too rarely³ worked out in Greek art, may indicate that the Greeks worked from memory pictures of the canine rather than the retractile feline paw.

A second motive common in relief is Heracles and the Nemean lion. The rearing *schema* lends itself to panel decoration and is accordingly popular for metopes.⁴ The motive as worked out in varying stages of Greek art shows well the three manners of execution of the lion distinguished by Schröder,⁵—the naturalistic, the decorative, which displays a striving for effect and for pattern rather than truth to nature, and the symbolic, which shows subjectivity in treatment. In classical Greece the decorative is most frequent, the naturalistic rare. One of the few examples that can be so classed is on a metope⁶ from the temple to Zeus in Olympia. The first Labour is accomplished. Heracles stands with one foot on the prostrate beast, which lies on its side, its soft paws doubled under in true feline fashion. The sculptor is unique in his ability to suggest the bulk and strength masked in softness characteristic of the cat rather than of the dog. He may have worked from memory pictures of living lions, at least his work marks the end⁷ of realistic representation of the

¹ Cf. the lions from the Nereid monument, where thin crosscut locks give a similar effect.

² GARSTANG, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX.

³ Cf. *AJA.*, XVIII (2), 1914, pl. IV.

⁴ So used on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the Treasury of the Athenians in Delphi,—*Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pls. XLIV–XLV.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. I.

⁶ *Olympia Publication*, III, pl. XXXV, I.

⁷ Note the contrast between it and the crude crouching figure (*Olympia*, *Tafelband* 3, pl. V, 3) which TREU (*ib.*, *Textband* III, p. 27) identifies as part

lion. The sculptor of the relief from Lamptrae,¹ on the other hand, subordinates naturalism to decorative effect; but he does not completely attain the decorative, otherwise, he would use the hind legs better to fill the gap under the body. The symbolic, or idealistic manner of treatment is rare in the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries; it is a mark of Hellenistic work. It is possibly to be found in the Myronic prototype which Six² sees behind the fourth century *stater* of Mallos, although it is difficult to determine how much the details may have been changed by the die cutter. Aside from the humanizing of the face, which is a true Hellenistic touch, the instability of the composition, the pose of the lion, the spirit pervading the whole group, the realization that the beast for all his kindled and concentrated fury is no match for the firmly poised hero,—all this is quite different from the earlier treatments of the subject.

This lost Myronic work is extraordinary in being a representation in the round of the lion grouped with another figure; but there is an earlier seventh century group,³ from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, which should be mentioned for its unique character both of composition and execution. This group represents a lion slayer, unidentified, but perhaps related to the Heracles⁴ saga. A diminutive kneeling man thrusts a sword into the neck of a relatively huge lion⁵ which crouches devouring a calf's head. The style of the lion approaches the Egyptian⁶ in the short body and the tail that appears under the right hind leg and curls up over the flank; but the violation of the law of axiality⁷ in turning the head to face over the left shoulder, and

of the support of a tripod. With the metope compare a gem (*A. G.* pl. XII, 25) which together with the metope FURTWÄGLER (p. 143) would trace back to an Ionic painting.

¹ *A. M.*, XII, 1887, pl. III, dated in the last quarter of the sixth century, B.C.

² *Z. Num.*, 14, 1886, p. 142 ff.

³ *BSA.*, XIII, 1906-1907, p. 89, fig. 23.

⁴ Heracles slew his first lion because it preyed upon his cattle.

⁵ DAWKINS, *BSA.*, XIII, 1906-1907, p. 89, calls it a lioness, but there are distinct indications of a mane. He notes that the artist is more skilled in drawing than in modelling, *i.e.*, the group like all primitive Greek sculpture is unifaceal.

⁶ CAPART, *op. cit.*, p. 240, fig. 179.

⁷ In the eighteenth dynasty the law is, under Cretan influence, disregarded, (VON BISSING, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Kunst*, text to pl. 74), but this is only

the left fore paw well around to the left side, together with the dress of the hero, mark the group as non-Egyptian. A tendency to pattern work, manifested in the scroll on the left shoulder, the bands about the legs above the paws, the spiral decoration on the greaves of the hero, the scales on the neck of the bullock, the schematization of the wrinkled nose, the ladder band between the lion's ears, is surely sub-Mycenaean, and a touch of the Mesopotamian appears in the heaviness of the concept. In other words, here is a sample of Spartan hybrid art, of the artistic eclecticism which prevailed in the less darkened portions of Greece, the islands of the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor, in the interval between the Dorian invasion and the Greek renaissance.

Sculptors of lions in the round are fondest of representing it alone, standing, walking, crouching, or seated. One of the earliest in the round is the lion from Perachora¹ now in Boston. Schröder² connects this lion with Ionic painting, and compares it with the sitting lion of Assos,³ finding in it, perhaps without warrant, play of line. This lion dates from the sixth century and merits study. It exhibits several peculiar features:—

- (1) The tendency to pattern work, seen in the braid design along the haunch, and in the stylization of the tuft of the tail, which is finished off with a double band,⁴ and in the band across the forehead between the ears.
- (2) The disregard of the law of axiality, due to the unifacial⁵ aspect of the work, and to the sculptor's being limited by geometric tendencies in his desire to show the body and head in what is to him the characteristic⁶ aspect of each. This results in the turning of the head to face

temporary aberration. PERROT and CHAPIEZ, I, p. 747, mention a hunt from Beni Hassan, where a lion attacking a deer has its head full front.

¹ *B.-B.*, pl. 641.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

³ *R. A.*, Sér. IV (XXII), 1913, p. 39, fig. 20.

⁴ Cf. the ivory from Sparta, *supra*, p. 24.

⁵ SCHRÖDER, *loc. cit.*, speaks of the effect of the lion as though cut from a board.

⁶ Cf. *AJA.*, XIX (2), 1915, p. 389, and XX (2), 1916, p. 401. There may be apotropaic purpose in this position of the head, see LÖSCHKE, *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX, 1914, col. 53, on the Corfu pediments.

outward¹ over the right² shoulder, and the retaining of the snarling mouth characteristic of the profile view of the animal.

- (3) The undue elongation of the face, which is rather hound-like.
- (4) The emaciated body, dog-like in its structure.
- (5) The fore legs unduly thickened.
- (6) The claws, visible like a dog's.
- (7) The mane too small.
- (8) A certain approach to the natural in,
 - (a) the attempt to show the ears half buried in the mane,
 - (b) the tuft of hair behind the shoulder,
 - (c) the slanting eyes.
- (9) The pose on the whole, one perfected by Greeks and in that form peculiar to Hellas.³

¹ Löwy, *op. cit.*, p. 48, comments on the fact that in early Greek art deities and heroes are always seen face to face with the beholder, no matter what the position of the torso. He thus explains the contortion of the Gorgon and of the Delian Nike. This idea may also explain the breakdown of axiality where the lion is a divine symbol. It is notable that the panther, which, more frequently than the lion, is the attribute of Dionysos, is always represented on vases with its head full front. There is great confusion between lion and panther types; it is practically impossible to distinguish between a maneless (female?) lion and a panther, except by the position of the head. A curious possibility arises; naturalists say that the gelded lion loses its mane and comes to appear much like the female. It is possible that 'panthers' are such gelded lions, with their heads in the divine pose to indicate that they are more than decorative.

² HOMOLLE, *Fouilles de Delphes*, 5, p. 55, states that in Chaldaean art the lion couchant always turns its head either to right or to left, and would find in this convention the prototype of the Greek pose. The fact is open to question, for the illustrations he quotes are bulls! VON BISSING, *loc. cit.*, considers such turning of the head an Aegean motive, noting that it appears in Egypt under Amenhotep III.

³ In Egypt the seated figure is for cats only, except a red pottery lion, published in the *Fourth Memoir of the Egyptian Research Account, Hierakonpolis*, I, 1900, pl. XLIV, XLV, and a stone figure of the Saite age, MASPERO, *Art in Egypt*, p. 258, fig. 499. These, like the cat figures, observe axiality. Chaldaea yields a crude bronze (DE SARZEC, *op. cit.*, pl. 45, No. 4) with which the bronze figurine in Boston (01.7469) may be compared. The palace of Gudea yields a fragment of a stone lion dedicated by him to the goddess Gatuoudoug to guard the door of the *temenos*,—DE SARZEC, *op. cit.*, pl. 24, No. 2. Except for these examples, seated lions are probably unknown outside of Hellas.

The lion is labeled in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts as showing Oriental¹ influence. This seems to refer to the characteristics numbered 1 and 8 above. The pattern work on hind legs and tail is reminiscent of the gaudy lion from Khorsabad,² which is, however, better than this in spirit and truth of representation. The Khorsabad lion shows the same non-retractile claws, and, like the Perachora stone has no differentiation of ruff and back hair. In Assyrian lions from the palace of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) the thick, sinewy fore leg is treated in the same dry fashion. Such lions, however, invariably have the shoulder covered with the mane, except for a reserved space to accommodate a stylized indication of the joint, while a large mane is not found in Greece after Mycenaean times. That the sculptor worked from the knowledge of lions only as represented in Oriental³ art is the more obvious if the slanting eyes⁴ be merely a primitive trick, if the tuft of hair behind the shoulder be a memory of some patterned decoration, as on the lion from Khorsabad, and if the covering of the ears be merely the following out of the instinct to cover surface.

It has been suggested that this lion is from a grave monument.⁵ That use is commonest for single free figures of lions, especially in the fourth century, and later, when many monuments in the

¹ *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1915, p. 68.

VON BISSING, *loc. cit.*, considers the tail on the side of the base an Egyptian trick.

² *P-C.*, II, pl. XV.

³ *Handbook of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, 1915, p. 68.

⁴ The eyes are not correct for a lion, though the flat underlid is less obvious here than on other specimens.

⁵ COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, p. 88 ff., traces the progress of the funereal lion from its origin in Asia Minor through Ionian art to mainland Greece, where it acquires additional significance. Instead of being merely the guard of the tomb, it becomes a symbol of valour, a pun alluding to the name of the deceased, a symbol of devouring death, or of the conquering charm of the dead. MRS. STRONG, *op. cit.*, p. 43, considers such stories as that of Leaina aetiological explanations of the presence of lions on tombs at a time when the apotropaic character is forgotten, and finds the chief connection with the dead in the fact that the lion is the attribute of Cybele, the mother in earth. One may question, however, whether the apotropaic is a function likely to be forgotten.

Cerameicus¹ and the *polyandrion* at Chaeroneia² were crowned by such figures. Most of the specimens so used in early classical times come from Asia Minor. John Marshall³ notes that in Asia Minor the lion is better done than elsewhere in the Greek world, because, he thinks, artists there had a better chance to observe the living lion. Specimens of their work, however, show, as he notes, not so much copying of nature as adapting. For instance the lion from the Nereid⁴ monument from which the New York⁵ lion is copied,⁶ with its sinewy hind legs, and visible claws, its thin body, and dog-like mouth and crouch, is certainly not leonine in detail, yet the effect, as Marshall observes, is sufficiently fierce. The spirit is quite different from that of the Mausoleum⁷ lions, made in the following century in a more impressionistic style, and attaining perhaps a more really decorative effect.

The difference between treatment at the hands of artists who may have known the lion at first hand, and that usual in Greek art may be seen by comparing these lions with an early water-spout from Olympia.⁸ The body is elongated and, as usual in Greek art, too thin at the withers; the mane is done in scales overlapping toward the head; and the muzzle is outlined by two deep lines such as mark Egyptian⁹ lions in the monuments of the first dynasty; the ear is flat, too low and ill shaped.

¹ For a unique representation of such a lion see COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, p. 103, fig. 53.

² Similar *polyandria* were found at Andros for the Athenians who perished in Conon's victory (GARDNER, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 225, fig. 77), and at Thespiæ for the Thespians who fell at Tanagra, FRAZER, *Pausanias*, V, p. 141).

³ *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum*, 1910, p. 210.

⁴ *B.-B.*, pl. 219, c.

⁵ *Ib.*, pl. 643.

⁶ Note the thicker legs, freer rendering of the mane, less 'dry' body, and more bulging frontal bone, characteristic of late work; the failure to differentiate the ruff from the rest of the mane; the working of the mane in the same plane with the smoother surface of the body, not like a cap laid over it; and the curious prolongation of the mane along the lower jaw to the edge of the mouth.

For notes on the peculiar anatomical structure of this lion, see PAYNE in the *International Studio* (62) 1917, p. CI, CII,—*The Weirdest Sculptured Lion in Captivity*.

⁷ *B.-B.*, pl. 73.

⁸ *Olympia Publication*, III, pl. V (1, 2).

⁹ CAPART, *op. cit.*, p. 231, fig. 170.

The chief point of interest about this lion is the use to which it was put as the end of a water conduit. We are familiar with the use of lion heads as waterspouts for the gutters of public buildings and for fountain orifices, but the use of the whole figure is rare.¹ The connection of the lion with water is very old. Two stone lions guarded the sources of the Alpheus;² a Vaphio³ gem shows two lion-headed deities watering a palm; a rock carving near Bavian⁴ represents two lions standing with their fore paws on a large barrel-like object through which water flows into a basin below; a colossal Bes from Amathos⁵ holds by the legs a lion skin through the head of which water flowed. Cook⁶ finds that the juxtaposition of lion and water is due to the lion's being chthonian and therefore an appropriate guardian for what comes up from below as well as for that which has gone below. This would seem to be the significance of the lion through whose mouth flow streams associated with places that boast of hot springs.⁷ If this is established for fountain orifices,⁸ then the use of sculptured heads⁹ for the coronae of temples is only a

¹ Cf. the *Tomba dei Tori* in Corneto, A. D., II, pl. 41, where two similar crouching figures serve as water spouts at the top of a curious altar-like structure which should be a fountain house. Cf. POLLUX, H, 113 on κρηροφύλαξ.

² *Paus.*, VIII, XLIV, 3. These lions are mentioned along with a roofless temple to the mother of the gods. The epithet "roofless" should indicate an originally pre-Hellenic sanctuary. At least, since the lions are connected with it, they offer additional evidence for the chthonian character of the animal.

³ *JHS.*, XXI, 1901, p. 101, fig. 1. This should be compared with similar scenes on Mesopotamian seals.

⁴ *P-C.*, II, p. 640, fig. 311. This seems to be of the age of Sennacherib I, and so not far removed in time from the figure at Olympia.

⁵ *Gaz. Arch.*, V, 1879, pl. 31.

⁶ *JHS.*, XIV, 1894, p. 119. PERROT and CHAPIEZ, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 43, find the origin of the use of a lion head for a fountain in a pun on the word κεφαλῇ which also means the source of a stream; the lion head especially would be chosen because all Greek streams are torrents, wholly or partly irresistible in the spring, cf. *P-C.*, IX, pl. v, 6, where a dog symbolically represents the river Crimisos.

⁷ Cf. a tetradrachm of Himera, HEAD, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 144, fig. 76; BABELON, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, Part 2, Vol. I, col. 1570.

⁸ Most representations of this kind are painted on vases, but HOMOLLE, *Fouilles de Delphes*, 5, pl. XV, 2, gives a bronze head which served as a fountain head. It is characterized (p. 56) as good archaic work. Note that POLLUX, *loc. cit.*, mentions that the κρηροφύλαξ is of bronze.

⁹ BORCHARDT, *Das Re Heiligthum des Rathures*, p. 55, observes that the Greek use of the head only is fundamentally different from the Egyptian custom of sending the water between the forepaws.

transfer from one kind of orifice to another. The Greeks of the fifth century apparently did not know why lion heads were so used. Agave in the *Bacchae*¹ of Euripides intimates the custom of hanging on the Doric frieze the spoils² of the chase. If, however, the heads on the sima, or the antefixes were due to such origin, one would expect more variety. Pliny³ attributes the beginning of such usage to the Corinthian⁴ Butades; his name as well as any other will serve to indicate the genius who substituted heads for the cylindrical spouts used on the Treasury at Gela;⁵ but this does not explain the origin of the custom. Whether it be the result of Egyptian⁶ influence, or of the chthonian character of the lion, or be derived from Mesopotamian⁷ architectural usage, or whether it be only apotropaic,—whatever be its origin, the use grew, for the early temple at Thermon had satyrs'⁸ heads for water spouts, and the temple of Artemis⁹ at Epidaurus carried dogs'¹⁰ heads.

¹ vv. 1213-15. See notes in SANDYS' ed., p. 226 ff.

² This would be a more likely explanation of the origin of the bronze heads used to stud doors and gateways, although these may be apotropaic,—TUCKER, *Life in Ancient Athens*, p. 58.

³ *H. N.*, XXXV, 152.

⁴ ROBERT in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencyclopädie*, V, under *Butades*, calls him a Sicynian.

⁵ *P-C.*, VII, pl. XXXIII, 6. DÖRFFELD thinks that even the prehistoric wooden temple at Corfu had lion heads in terracotta.

⁶ Projecting demi-lions are used as gargoyles in Memphite architecture. These gargoyles, however, do not have the same use or position as the Greek heads; *P-C.*, VII, p. 502, gives possible theories of their origin.

⁷ See *P-C.*, II, p. 410, fig. 190, for a façade of a temple showing lion heads projecting from the pilasters. With this should be compared the rather unconvincing restoration of the lion head from Chianti, (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1916, p. 277, fig. 14.)

⁸ *A. D.*, II, pl. 53, No. 1, 2. This same temple had human heads for antefixes, but not for water spouts. The grotesquerie of the human mouth, opened wide for the passage of water, perhaps offended the Greek, and he substituted for it the semi-bestial satyr, whose beard and shaggy hair effectively frame his gaping mouth, and later the lion whose mane offers decorative possibilities, and whose face is less suggestive of the human. Cf. HOPPIN, *Euthymides and his Fellows*, pl. XXXVI, for a vase of Hypsis showing both a lion's and a satyr's head for a fountain.

⁹ To Artemis, possibly by virtue of her aspect as *πότνια θήρων* lions are frequently given for decoration of her temples,—see *BSA.*, XVI, p. 35, fig. 7, and FROTHINGHAM'S suggestion (*AJA.*, XV (2), 1911, p. 357) that the archaic temple in Corfu was dedicated to Artemis. See also PAUS., IX, XVII.

¹⁰ Confusion between dogs and lions continues through all mainland art. BRUNN (*op. cit.*, I, p. 58) gives in fig. 55 a sherd from Tiryns on which a dog runs under a horse as the lion accompanies the Egyptian king a-hunting.

In any event, lion heads are characteristic for the sima. Vitruvius (III, V, 15) recommends placing¹ such heads, one over the axis of each column, and intermediate heads at equal distances, these latter solid, but those over the column centres pierced for the passage of rain water. Up to Hellenistic times, when a freer, more impressionistic style developed a new rendering of the mane and a humanizing of the face, these ἡγέμονες λεοτοκεφαλοι² show little development of style. At Olympia, on the basis of the marble employed, Treu³ distinguishes two types for the period under discussion, the first containing two contemporary groups, one with pointed ears; the other with rounded ears, and the second type in naturalistic and free style. There is little more that can be said. The changes which come with time are softening of crudities rather than modification of fundamental concepts. From the beginning, the mane is stylized into a frame for the face. It is differentiated into layers,—a more or less outstanding ruff from ear to ear about the lower jaw, sometimes continued across the front of the head, but frequently differentiated from the hair on the top of the head, and in either event distinguished from the rest of the mane, which appears either as a series of streaming lines behind the ruff, or as a formal frame. The differentiation is in keeping with the schematized treatment of human hair in the archaic period, when it is divided into front, crown and back hair, each treated differently. The framing locks are done in large pointed masses with fine interior incised lines to indicate the hairs; and they overlap each other like scales. Such details distinguish the lion from the preceding satyr⁴ form. The eye is not perceptibly different from the human eye, except for more success in showing it under a bulging brow; and the face is furrowed,² especially on the forehead, according to the archaic mannerism which permits the lower forms to show passion and expression, while the human in its superiority is calm. The mouth is open in an expression rather ferocious, and the pendent tongue serves as a water channel when the back of the head is pierced. In relatively early speci-

¹ One of the 'refinements' of the Parthenon consists in having these heads inclined slightly toward the corner columns.

² Böckh, *Urkunde über den Seewesen der Athener*, XI, p. 406 ff.

³ *Olympia Publication*, Textband I, p. 22 ff.

⁴ Compare A. D., II, 53, I, 2; and 53 A, 1, 5. The lions' heads from Elatea, *BCH.*, XI, 1887, pl. II, very clearly resemble human heads in their huge nostrils, thick lips and enormous teeth. Note that No. I has only three incisors.

mens, the tongue is likely to be channeled for the easier passage of water, and is also prominent. Later, this channel still exists, but it is less conspicuous,¹ and the tongue less prominent. The Palermo Museum has a large series of these heads, showing the development² from the crudest efforts to complete success and decadence. The shape of the face in profile varies from a rounded, nearly semicircular outline on the head cited in Wiegand³ to a long muzzle⁴ with an almost wolfish⁵ profile. One of the best specimens, its colours, red black and yellow, well preserved, comes from the temple of Apollo in Metapontum, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The formal rendering of its whiskers into a sort of palmette⁶ decoration, the flare of the skin about the mouth, as on a dog's muzzle, the huge ears, the furrows on the face, the peculiar teeth and eyeballs,—all these comprise a perfect instance of the fantastic structure of the lion as conceived by a Greek.

The free standing lion is one of the latest types to be evolved. Assyria experimented with the standing lion in high relief, but it remained for the Greeks to overcome the difficulties of supporting the mass of the body on the relatively slight legs, and to perfect the pose. One of the earliest efforts is seen in the ivory from Ephesus,⁷ a unique specimen, in appearance more Indian than Greek, but indubitably a piece of sub-Mycenaean work, because of its reverted head and its legs spread in gallop. So early appears a manifestation of the instinct to avoid straight, firmly planted legs. Hogarth's⁸ description makes the lion leap

¹ Cf. a head from Selinus, *P-C.*, VII, p. 502, fig. 239, with one from the Acropolis, *Jheft.*, XIV, 1911, p. 23, fig. 20.

² *P-C.*, VII, p. 501, note I.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 188, abb. 201.

⁴ DURM, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*, I, p. 280, fig. 253, from the Palermo Museum.

⁵ This sort of profile is characteristic for heads in the west, especially in Italy. It indicates that the early artists there drew their local beast of prey; but it is not confined to this part of the world. See a b. f. *amphora* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 231, DE RIDDER I, p. 147, fig. 19.

⁶ This mannerism is seen on early Chaldaean lions,—cf. DE SARZEC, *op. cit.*, pl. 24, fig. 3 and pl. 25 bis I. It continues through the great lions of the palace in Susa. In Greece it is common on archaic sculptured heads and on such painted heads as come from sculptured prototypes, cf. the metope from Thermon, A. D., II, 52.

⁷ HOGARTH, *Excavations at Ephesus*, pl. XXI, 3.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 162 ff.

down, with its hind legs in the air. If we grant Hogarth's idea that the lion was in a frame, the slinking tail, which passes between the hind legs and lies along the left side, may be necessitated by limitations of space, or it may be an early variation of the curling of the tail on the flank, as it is found on the lions from Branchidae. Like the Perachora lion, this has an ornamental ring above the tuft of the tail.

The plastic lion in Greek art never merely stands; it bends¹ one fore leg in preparation for a step forward, or it bends both fore legs close to the ground, as if about to spring on its prey. The latter pose betrays the artist's ignorance of the lion, which does not like the dog spring from the bended fore legs, but crouches flat on the ground, and gathers the whole body for the pounce. Occasionally the lion walks,—more often in relief than in the round. One vigorous specimen from the sixth century Artemisium at Ephesus,² in high relief, strides to left with open jaws and arching tail; it is one of the few sculptured³ examples of the lion with lifted⁴ tail and snarling⁵ mouth which walks in the friezes of many Corinthian and Ionic⁶ vases.

It is significant of the decline of interest in the lion that through these centuries we have so few representations of it in the round. The round to the Greek was supreme in beauty and significance, and less than other artistic forms was given to mere decoration.

Very occasionally the lion is found as a plastic ornament on pottery. The tomb of Men-Khaphr-Re-Seneb in western Thebes⁷ has on its walls, among representations of Aegean cups borne by foreign legations, two high necked craters the handles of which are formed by elongated lions that stand with their hind feet on the body of the vase and their fore paws on its rim. From

¹ In Hellenistic work, this pose is changed to the lifted paw resting on a ball, or some such support,—the prototype of the lion of St. Mark.

² HOGARTH, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI, 1.

³ Cf. a relief from Corinth, *A. D.*, II, pl. 29, No. 20.

⁴ In painting, the position of the tail is governed by the restrictions of space, or by desire for decorative effect.

⁵ As a rule only in Asia Minor does one find such naturalism as that a bristling mane accompanies a snarling mouth,—BABELON, *op. cit.*, I, p. 429–430, fig. 706. This statement does not cover painted monuments on which the profile of the lion's neck has a jagged outline.

⁶ Cf. the lion on a so-called Assyrian comb from the Longperier collection in the Louvre, *P-C.*, II, p. 760, fig. 419.

⁷ MAX MÜLLER, *Egyptological Researches*, II, pls. 2 and 6.

these illustrations, as well as from the so-called cup¹ of Nestor, we may plausibly infer an Aegean origin for plastic animals² used as decoration on bronze³ or clay vessels. In pottery such an addition is unsuitable, and accordingly rare. Two⁴ well known vases show it,—the Macmillan⁵ *lekkythos* in the British Museum, and a similar vase in Berlin,⁶ both proto-Corinthian ware. Each is topped by a lion's head, the mouth of which serves as the lip of the vase. These heads are modeled and painted. On the Macmillan vase there is a line from the nose entirely around the mouth, a trick rare in Greece, but common in Egyptian lions of the second dynasty. Both heads have a cleft upper lip, which again is rare in Greece but common in Egypt; and the Macmillan vase shows a ruff framing the face. Both have flat pendent tongues, and whiskers stylized into palmettes;⁷ the teeth are inadequately represented, and the head is square. In the Berlin vase the handle assumes the form of a lion which crouches behind the big head, its hind legs folded on the shoulder of the vase, and its head laid on its fore paws in line with the ears of the larger head. Its pose and elongated body remind one of the κρηνοφύλαξ at Olympia. In fact, it is probable that the lingering of some connection between the lion and the flowing of water or indeed of any liquid, has something to do with the usage of the beast form in this sort of decoration.⁸

A theme less frequently treated is the lion hunt, which is borrowed from the East, and, except for such Hellenistic scenes as the *Venatio Alexandri*, survives for the most part in the gigantomachy, where the attributes of certain gods are represented in the carnage. On the frieze of the Treasury of the Siphnians¹⁰

¹ SCHLIEGMANN, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, p. 237, fig. 346.

² Cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pl. IX, 5.

³ Cf. a bronze jug in the Metropolitan Museum,—*Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. 186, No. 488.

⁴ Add to these a r. f. *guttus*,—MORIN-JEAN, *op. cit.*, p. 184, fig. 213.

⁵ *JHS.*, XI, 1890, pp. 167–180, pls. I–II.

⁶ *Jheft.*, XIV, 1911, p. 30, fig. 32.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 32, note 6.

⁸ Cf. a vase from Thera that has a griffin's head, like the bronze heads found at Olympia, BRUNN, *op. cit.*, I, p. 136, fig. 106.

⁹ E.g., the Sidonian sarcophagus, HAMDY BEY-REINACH, *Une Nécropole Royale à Sidon*, pl. XXVII; cf. PLUTARCH, *Alexander*, p. 491 (CLOUGH). For discussion of the motive, see PERDRIZET, *JHS.*, XX, 1899, p. 273 ff.

¹⁰ *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, pl. XIII–XIV. Cf. DINSMOOR in *BCH.*, XXXVI, 1912, p. 439 ff., and XXXVII, 1913, p. 5 ff., *Studies of the Delphian Treasuries*.

at Delphi, two lions harnessed to the car of Cybele¹ attack a giant. Except in a gigantomachy, the lion in combat is always worsted by the man. This convention which springs from the Greek feeling of greater interest in the human than in the animal form is not violated in the scenes just cited, for here the lion is the symbol of the divine fighting against evil.

A curious variant of the lion hunt is seen on a *stele* found near the Dipylon, bearing a Graeco-Phoenician² inscription and some barbarous Greek verse. It has been variously dated,³ from the end of the sixth to the end of the third century. Above the inscription, in flat relief, which is remarkably good in outline, if the drawing of Conze is correct, a dead man lies on a bier covered with a long cloth. At his head a lion leaps up, with paws near the dead man's head, and its own head stretched over the man's. From the right a nude man bends over the couch to drive off the lion. Over his head is the prow of a ship. The inscription⁴ in halting metre reads:

Μηθεῖς ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζετω εἰκόνα τήνδε,
ὥς περὶ μέν με λέων, περὶ δὲ πρῶϊρ' ἰγκτετάνυσται.
ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τ' ἀμὰ θέλων σποράσαι·
ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καὶ μου κτέρισαν τάφον οὐτέϊ,
οὓς ἔθελον φιλέων, ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες.
Φοινίκην δὲ λίπων τῇδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυμμαι.

The *stele* has been much⁵ discussed, as corroborating the tradition of the existence of lions in historic Greece. Lenormant⁶ suggested that as Herodotus fixed the limits for the lion in Greece, the deceased had been rent at the Peiraeus by a lion from a

¹ Cf. the Pergamene altar frieze where on the west side a lion stands before the figure of Rhea.

² I omit the Phoenician part, for it has no essential connection with the subject of the relief.

³ USENER, *Kleine Schriften*, III, p. 444 ff., puts it in the late third century. The lack of uniformity in *τεῖδε* and *λίπων* and the letters Ν ϰ Ξ may be due to archaizing.

⁴ The text is from USENER, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

⁵ See SANDYS, *J. P.*, 4, p. 48 ff.; KEKULÉ, *Theseion*, p. 27; MICHAELIS, *A. Z.*, 29, 1872, p. 145; HÜBNER, *A. Z.*, 30, 1873, p. 47; USENER, *op. cit.*, with a drawing (pl. II) by CONZE. USENER considers the nude figure attacking the lion a death conqueror, and cites the Eastern imagery of Hades as a lion,—Ionic in *Iliad* XI, 480, and Semitic in *Psalms* VII, 2; XXII, 21; etc. (p. 449, note 148).

⁶ Quoted by SANDYS, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

menagerie! The *stele* may be for a cenotaph, a *μνημα* rather than a *σῆμα*, set up for a foreign trader, well-known in Athens, slain in foreign parts; but in the last line a puzzle remains. I quote this at length to illustrate the folly of too literal interpretation of this and other monuments of the lion.

These types exhaust the repertory¹ of sculptured lions during the early period of Greek art. After the fifth century there is an increasing use of lions as funeral² monuments; and thanks to Alexander's influence a greater interest in lion hunts, and a revival of the Heracles saga. During the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman ages, sculpture enlarges its repertory by such motives as loves and lions, centaurs³ and lions, lioness⁴ and cubs, a lion bringing down a horse, etc.; and revives the ancient custom of dedicatory⁵ lions for thank offerings.

We have seen that the chief use of sculptured lions has been due to a religious sense which at times is rather vague, and is subordinated to the consideration of pure decoration, and that this idea of decoration with the passage of time becomes more and more pronounced. In time the lion is discontinued in temple decoration except for antefixes, for which it remains popular because it is the most suitable form. That in the seventh, sixth

¹ I have not discussed the lions of Branchidae and Corfu, because these lions are obviously wrought under Egyptian influence, *P-C.*, VIII, p. 286, fig. 118; and p. 520, fig. 268. For details of these lions see Löwy, *Typenwanderung* Jheft., (14) 1911, p. 1 ff.

² To the list of such lions in COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, chap. V, add the large lion from the Peiraeus, now before the Arsenal in Venice. It shows the same pose as the monument at Chaeroneia and the same impressionistic mane. This lion is rarely mentioned and almost never pictured; BOSANQUET, *Days in Attica*, pl. XII.

³ *E.g.*, the Marseilles sarcophagus, *Gaz. Arch.*, I, 1875, pl. 12, a combination of animals found elsewhere only on gems,—FURTWÄNGLER, *A. G.*, pl. VI, No. 45.

⁴ The Vienna relief, COLLIGNON, *La Sculpture Grecque*, II, p. 577, fig. 298. In sculpture the only use of this motive at an earlier time is on the Xanthos tomb, *BMC, Sculpture*, I, No. 80 (3) p. 47, pictured *P-C.*, V, p. 391, fig. 276. MORIN-JEAN, *op. cit.*, p. 94, observes that Ionic art exhibits a preference for the lioness, singly and in groups, and he gives in fig. 105 a lioness and cubs taken from a Caeretan *hydria* in the Louvre.

⁵ PAUSANIAS (X, XVIII, 7) tells that when Cassander in 298 B.C. was driven from the walls of Elatea, the people of the city sent to Delphi a bronze lion. Thus was continued even in Hellenistic times the spirit that set up the lion said to have been dedicated by Heracles before the temple of Artemis Eucleia in Thebes (*Paus.* IX, XVII, 2), the lions at Branchidae, and many smaller figures.

and fifth centuries the predominating foreign influence comes from the East rather than from Egypt is not surprising in view of two facts,—first, the overland trade routes to Asia spread ideas and culture more readily than the sea routes; second, the great historical period in which the art of Egypt makes itself felt abroad does not come until the seventh century, under Amasis in the twenty-sixth dynasty. This date falls after the great aggression of Assyria in the eighth century, and is practically contemporary with the beginning of the Hellenic renaissance. Assyrian influence had the advantage of priority; and the Egyptian art, at best only temporarily rejuvenated, could not, with its more lifeless forms and its insistence on canon, make great impression¹ on the free and eager Greek genius. Furthermore, Assyrian art, and its Mesopotamian predecessors as well, is characterized² by *l'expression de la force et la recherche du détail*, whereas the Egyptian out of the midst of flowing lines and elasticity of form seeks always to simplify,³—*simplifier les formes pour faire valoir les contours*; and because its possibilities are narrower, is soon rejected.

¹ For a similar phenomenon in Cyprus, cf. MYRES, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

² DE SARZEC, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³ *Ib.*

CHAPTER IV

LION TYPES ON COINS

BEFORE the end of the sixth century, the lion has figured on coins of many Greek cities scattered about the Mediterranean from Miletus on the east to Syracuse on the west, but there is a certain peculiarity about the spread of the type. It is not due to the commercial predominance of any one city, as is the spread of the "owls" and "pegasi." The lion type is struck on many standards, and the type has many variants; sometimes the head or mask is used, again the *protomé*, sometimes the whole figure in varying poses, alone or grouped with Heracles or its prey. The use of the type in such variety indicates that something other than arbitrary choice caused its wide distribution. There are several possibilities.

I. In many cases the type is used by a given city because it is the badge of the mother city. This, for instance, is the case with colonies of Samos, in which the chief type is the lion scalp with flanking¹ jaws, that has been connected variously with Hera and Dionysos *κεχηνώς*.² This type, with or without the flanking jaws, is found on coins of Rhegium and Messene, and testifies to Samian³ influence there. The fact that the colony adopted the type of the mother city is, however, of less interest than the possibility that the reason for it is to be found in religion, *i.e.*, that the common lion is a symbol of the continuity of the religious life of mother city and colony, joined in a common worship. Whether or not this be the only explanation here, indubitably religious significance attaches to the lion throughout Ionia. There it is the symbol of the great sun god, the patron deity in Cnidos, in Smyrna and in Miletus,⁴ where after the temple of Apollo Didymaeus was rebuilt in 334 B.C., the lion still appears

¹ Lycian coins after the revolt of Samos bear this type, introduced at the end of the fifth century,—*BMC., Coins, Lycia*, pl. III, 15.

² GARDNER, *Samos and Samian Coins*, p. 13 ff. Cf. BABELON, *Mélanges Numismatiques* 3, p. 1 ff.

³ Samos used often the lion head in profile, alone or backed by a calf's head.

⁴ Miletus lends the type to Pantacapaem.

with reverted¹ head, looking at the star of the god. The prominence given to the lion motive in Assos, Lesbos and Cyzicus shows the same dominance of a religious idea, and in the case of Cyzicus a political significance in addition. Cyzicus in the early fifth century shows a great fondness for the lion as a type,² but as the prestige of Athens increases, the form disappears. The owl drives out the lion. We may assume that the presence of the lion was a sign of Samian or Ionian influence, since Athens was consistently hostile to such influence at home and abroad, after the second decade of the fifth century. A third region, Cyprus, uses the lion as a coin type in a religious sense. Such of its coins as show the beast strangled by Heracles are naturally due to the popularity of the cult of the hero; and such as show the motive of the lion and the stag³ are probably also religious, whether the stag have any individual significance,⁴ or whether the group be merely a variant of the lion and the bull,⁵ which continues over a wide area from the earliest Chaldaean art to the time of the Diodochi.⁶

II. Besides such a religious value the type may have a second meaning which as in the case of Leontini may overlap the first. That is, it is directly connected sometimes with a given locality; the sight of the lion will call to mind the place of issue, even if it be not named. This use of the lion as a canting badge is seen

¹ The reverted head is a feature of Mycenaean art, of Babylonian art, and of Chaldaean art as early as 3000 B.C. Possibly, like the swastika, it is merely a trick of primitive art, for it may be found on animals drawn by cave men.

² The coins show both male and female lions, whole figures *passants*, or head or *protomé* only, winged lionesses and lion-headed men. See *BMC., Coins, Mysia*, pls. V, VI, IX, and *HEAD*, under *Cyzicus*.

³ KELLER (*Thiere des Alterthums*, p. 76), considers this group symbolic of the conquest of darkness by light; (the spotted deer is the star-flecked heaven).

⁴ MYRES (*op. cit.*, p. XXXIX), finds in such fifth century coins an allusion to the dominance of Phoenicia, "the lion of Tyrian Heracles pulls down the defenceless stag of Greek Artemis."

⁵ The significance of this ancient motive when used on coins is much debated. *HEAD (op. cit., 1st ed., p. 182)*, finds in its use on coins of Acanthos verification of Herod., VII, 125 ff. (but see *USENER, supra*, p. 9 and note 1). In 2nd ed., p. 204, *HEAD* suggests that it has added significance as an old Anatolian motive, connected with the worship of Cybele. *PERRON and CHAPIEZ*, IX, p. 85, consider it a solar symbol,—the sun drying water. Decoration pure and simple must have some significance in it, for the design admirably fills the space of the flan.

⁶ See coins of Issos and Mallos in *Cicilia*, etc.

particularly on coins of Leontini,¹ where the head of λέων in profile with open jaws commonly fills the obverse. In this class would come likewise certain coins minted in Sicily, that bear on the reverse a lion before a palm,² and are recognized thereby as African, even if there were no Phoenician inscription pointing to Punic use of the coin. At times also the lion appears as the symbolic signature of the issuing magistrate, with or without the name on which it puns.³

III. There is a third but rarer use of the lion to suggest victory or commemorate limitless power. Something of this significance attaches to the running lion placed in the exergue of the *Damareteia*⁴ which were issued at Syracuse after the battle of Himera: Defeated Africa has turned tail and fled. With this is to be compared the contemporary tetradrachm of Leontini.⁵ The idea of power is shown by the lion on Lydian coins of the early sixth century, where the lion is a royal signet as it was in Babylon,⁶ and in the time of Croesus⁷ the lion even when grouped with a bull⁸ is a symbol of the wide spread of the empire.

IV. A fourth class of coins uses the lion in a strictly decorative sense. Such coins lie beyond the limits set for this period. So according to Six,⁹ Mallos copies a lost Myronic group of Heracles and the Nemean lion; and Corinth issues a coin that copies the grave monument of the courtesan Lais.¹⁰ Examples, however, are rare. Generally when the lion occurs on coins some symbolism, religious, political or personal prescribes its use.

¹ See *supra*, p. 1.

² HILL, *Coins of the Ancients*, pl. 26, No. 41 and 42.

³ EVANS, *The Horseman of Tarentum*, p. 182, No. 5; and pl. IX, No. 4, described p. 178 No. 3. See also p. 173 ff.

⁴ BMC., *Coins, Sicily*, p. 153.

⁵ HILL, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 77 and pl. V, 4.

⁶ In Babylon the lion form guarantees the weight of the heavy or Royal mina, (HEAD, *op. cit.*, p. XXXVI ff.), a palpable indication of the protecting power of the king extended through his symbol. So in Lydia, the capitol would have been impregnable had not the bearers of the royal lion relied too much on the natural precipice, and so failed to extend the protecting influence in a complete circle about the city (*Herod.*, I, 84).

⁷ Croesus dedicated at Delphi a golden lion,—*Herod.*, I, 50.

⁸ This is an unusual variant of significance of the lion and bull motive, and also of the type, which shows not a combat, but the forequarters of each beast facing.

⁹ *Supra*, p. 24, note 2.

¹⁰ *Paus.*, II, II, 4; the coin is reproduced in BMC., *Coins, Corinth*, pl. XXIII, 12.

In view of all this, one is inclined to believe that the lion and other animals are used so largely on coins not because such forms are easier to handle than others, for plants¹ and human heads are quite as common as animals, and ease of representation is a consideration secondary to the symbolism involved, but because there are in the art of Egypt, Babylon and Nineveh many models for the early Greek to copy. The Greeks do copy Eastern models, and there is a reason for this, as will be seen from the following study of the origin of the type.

It is inconceivable that the lion should be so well known in the Mediterranean area as late as the fifth century B.C. that its use as a symbol is inevitable in localities so many and varied.

I append here a list of some forty cities which issue what we call Greek coins with lion types from the seventh down to the fourth century. "Greek" coins are minted also in Cilicia, Lycia,² Lydia and Macedon but these regions lie outside the limits of the Greek world, and their products are not so much Greek as influenced by Greek ideas.

<i>Mints</i>	<i>Nature of Colonization³</i>
Abdera	P. T.
Acanthos	An. (I) Andros consecrated to Dionysos
Amathos	P.
Assos	Meth. i.e., Pel., A., Ae.
Carthage (mint in Sicily)	P.
Chersonese (Caria)	C.
" (Thrace)	M.
Citium	P.
Clazomene	I. (?)

¹ Plants occur contemporaneously with the earliest animal form; the human head begins about the middle of the sixth century. Attributes of gods are represented earlier than the gods themselves, probably for ease of representation,—BABELON, *Mélanges Numismatiques*, 4, p. 74.

² Lycia, before Ionian influence reaches it after the Persian conquest, is noted for good execution of lion forms, e.g., the Xanthos tomb, a piece of sixth century work, with lions better executed than the accompanying men and beasts. Note the manes especially.

³ Abbreviations used,—

Ach(aean), Ae(olic), An(dros), Ass(yrian), C(arian), Ch(alcis), Cor(inth), Cr(etan), D(orian), G(ree)k, I(onian), M(iletus), Meth(ymna), P(hoenician), Pel(asgic), Ph(ocis), Sp(arta), T(eos), Th(racian).

For data is used BESNIER, *Lexique de Géographie Ancienne*, Paris, 1914.

Cleonae	Ach. (?)
Cnidos	Sp.
Colchis	M.
Croton	Ach.
Cumae	Ch.
Cyrene	D. (from Thera)
Cyzicus	Th. M.
Eretria (centre of sun worship indicates Anatolian affinities, <i>BMC. Coins, Central Greece</i> , p. 7).	Ph. (?) rich in metals
Gortyn	Cr.
Heracleia (Lucania)	Gk. (Thurii), D. (Tarentum)
" (Thessaly)	Pel. (?)
Leontini	Ch. (from Naxos-I)
Lesbos	Pel., Ach., Ae.
Lindos	D.
Miletus	I.
Mytilene	Ae.
Pantacapaenum	M.
Phaestos	Cr.
Pherae (Thessaly)	Pel.
Phoea (Ionia)	P.
Rhegion	Ch.
Samos	C., I.
Sicyon (founded by Argialeus, tributary to Argos)	I., D.
Side (Pamphylia)	Ae.
Smyrna	Ae.
Soli (and other towns in Cyprus)	P.
Syracuse	Cor.
Tarsus	Ass.
Temessa (not the Homeric city, which is in Cyprus)	Gk.
Velia	I.
Zancle (Messene)	Ch.

As it happens, these cities are confined to Anatolia and certain colonies in the west, or to regions in the north not wholly Greek. No city of central Greece has the lion for type, and only two in the Peloponese,—Cleonae and Sicyon. On the other hand, Argos,

near which the Nemean lion was slain presents no lion among its types; no representations of Heracles occur on coins of the regions in which his labours were accomplished. Only Oeta, where he died, has such a type. If the lion were known in the Greek peninsula in the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries, this lack of representation on early coins would be peculiar.

Summarizing from this list, we obtain the following conclusions:—

Fifteen cities were in origin non-Hellenic,—Abdera, Amathos, Carthage, Carian Chersonese, Citium, Clazomene, Eretria, Gortyn, Heracleia in Thessaly, Phaestos, Pherae, Phoea, Samos, Soli, Tarsus;

Six were subject to much pre-Greek influence,—Miletus, Assos, Colchis, Cyzicus, Pantacapaem and the Thracian Chersonese, colonies of Miletus;

Nineteen might be counted Hellenic,—Acanthos, Cleonae, Cnidos, Croton, Cumae, Cyrenè, Heracleia in Lucania, Leontini, Lesbos, Lindos, Mitylene, Rhegion, Sicyon, Side, Smyrna, Syracuse, Temessa, Velia, Zancle. Of these nineteen, three showed Ionic characteristics, *i.e.*, were open to sub-Mycenaean influences,—Acanthos, Leontini, Velia; four are Aeolic, *i.e.*, had affinities with Asia Minor,—Lesbos, Side, Mitylene, Smyrna, and to these may be added Cnidos and Lindos, which though Dorian originally, yet were open to Asiatic influences, and also Cyrene in Africa. Of the remaining nine, three were planted by Chalcis, itself Phoenician,—Cumae, Rhegion and Zancle; Cleonae and Sicyon are probably closely linked in origin with Argos, which had many foreign affinities; Heracleia used the lion as attribute of its eponym; Syracuse used the lion only in a strictly symbolic sense, and as inspired by Africa; so that only two cities—Croton and Temessa—are left for a stronghold for the theory that the lion is a native type, and they, too, must fail, for no one claims that the lion is found in Sicily and south Italy in historical times; the type here is only occasional, and is obviously borrowed from elsewhere.

It may be considered established that for Hellenic Greek cities the lion is not a native Hellenic type, that on the contrary, it is found on the coinage of cities directly or remotely open to foreign influences, because in the population appear extraneous elements, either contemporary or remote. The overwhelming foreign influence is Asiatic,—Phoenician or Anatolian.

This conclusion is substantiated by a study of the types involved. Mention has been made of the Samian mask which appears in the west. Comparison of the mask on coins of Samos and Rhegion¹ reveals the inferiority of the western die which copies something not well understood. The loss of the flanking jaws takes away the sense of limpness and flatness that is characteristic of the Samian mask. The unnatural open eye, the symmetrically parted hair, the semi-conical nose, scowling brows, clumsy schematization of wrinkles on nose and upper lip—all indicate the desire of the copyist to improve a misunderstood original. How much other cities² that use the lion mask are influenced by Samos is hard to determine. Trade relations may influence cities so far apart as Gortyn, Pantacapaëum, Phaestos and Cumæ. Lycian³ coins of the end of the fifth century are surely influenced by Samian types.

The lion⁴ and bull motive has already been classed as Anatolian. Similarly Anatolian are types on coins of Cnidos, showing fore-quarters of the animals, profile or facing, single or opposed heraldically. This un-Hellenic half form is probably due to the inability of the craftsman to fill the space at his disposal with anything larger. The Cnidian type is copied by Lindos,⁵ and from Lindos taken over by Cyrene.⁶ As this type can be traced from city to city, so the snarling⁷ lion head can be traced back to earliest Lydian coins. The winged lion is obviously Anatolian.

Good representations of the lion are rare. We have learned not to expect naturalism, seeing that the artist worked from

¹ HEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 60.

² Arcesilaus III copies the Samian lion after 528 B.C.,—BABELON, *Traité*, I, p. 289. At some unknown date the Samian mask appears on coins of Eretria.

³ BMC., *Coins, Lycia*, p. VIII.

⁴ Only in Lycia do the two animals appear in proper relation of size,—BABELON, *op. cit.*, XCVII No. 17.

⁵ HEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 637.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 867, fig. 384.

⁷ One curious characteristic of the profile lion head is that the mouth is normally open as if to roar. A coin of Heracleia in Thessaly—BMC., *Coins, Thessaly*, pl. III, 7—shows the mouth closed. The lioness head mentioned in note 5 *supra*, also has the mouth closed. In this variant from norm, one can find only the artist's ignorance of the significance of the snarling mouth which from earliest times has guarded treasure—see HEAD, BMC., *Coins, Lydia*, intro. p. XXI. The head has become mere ornament; the artist, seeing no reason for the snarl, therefore leaves it out.

memory pictures. We are accordingly the more surprised by a Cyzicene¹ coin which displays a good feline body, and a tail properly placed and proportioned, even though the face is sunk into the frame of the mane, which is too small in extent.

These types have employed the lion as a primary object, decorative or symbolic, but in two cities, Pherae² in Thessaly and Himera³ in Sicily, the lion head is used as a fountain orifice. This use of the lion as κρηνοφύλαξ was discussed in Chapter III, p. 29 ff.; and Anatolian influence was shown.

The group of Heracles and the lion is common throughout the mintages listed. In coins as in painting, Heracles is always on the left,⁴ the lion on the right, a convention which begins in the motive of the lion conqueror in Chaldean⁵ art. The fixity of the *schema* is another indication of the foreign origin of the hero. Originally, the position may be due to the principle of the lucky left in Chaldaean orientation, elucidated by Frothingham,⁶ who points out that the Greeks have a different orientation. In this case, the presence of Heracles on the left is a survival of the ritualistic position of Gilgamesh to left in token of ultimate victory. Even in Cypriote⁷ work where the lion has sunk to insignificance, the conqueror holds the beast on his left hip. He stands at the spectator's left in the picture. This conqueror's pose the Greeks take over from Mesopotamia, ignorant of its original significance, otherwise they would have reversed it to coincide with their own orientation, instead of allowing it to become an established and meaningless convention.

The consideration then both of the character of the cities that employed the lion as a type, and of the nature of the types involved, leads to the conclusion that the lion is a stranger to the Hellenic Greeks, who attracted by its religious significance and its ornamental character, welcome it, but never quite make it their own.

¹ HEAD, *Hist. Num.*, p. 524, fig. 271.

² *Ib.*, p. 307.

³ *Ib.*, p. 144, fig. 76.

⁴ Exceptions to this pose are found on a fourth century coin issued by Lyceios in Paeonia, *BMC., Coins, Macedon*, p. 1, and a vase of Nicosthenes, *P-C.*, X, p. 268, fig. 174.

⁵ WARD, *op. cit.*, p. 51, 135b; p. 69, 178, 180, etc.

⁶ *Ancient Orientation Unveiled*, *AJA.*, XXI (2), 1917, p. 55 ff., and p. 425.

⁷ MYRES, *op. cit.*, No. 1097-1098.

CHAPTER V

THE LION IN OTHER MINOR ARTS

IN the other minor arts the lion is little used, relatively speaking. The fact is not without significance, for the minor arts mirror daily life. The British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas names in addition to antefixes only one piece containing a lion,—a Melian¹ relief. The Olympia Museum offers the forepart of a crouching lion² which served apparently as an acroterion. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts owns a peculiar antefix,³ a *πρότυπα θηρῶν* transformed into a siren—with a lion on each side standing on the ends of the outspread tail, and resting their fore paws on her shoulder.

In bronzes there is more material, especially in the seventh⁴ century. The excavations at Delphi, Olympia, Ptoion⁵ and other sanctuaries have revealed numbers of small votive figurines, many of them lions. What their purpose may have been is hard to decide. In general, offerings of such form should indicate victory over great odds, or be a symbol of courage in defeat, *gloria victis*.⁶ The style varies from the utmost crudity to relative refinement. It is possible to trace Egyptian influence in such figures as are published in *Olympia* IV, pl. LVII, No. 965 or 964; or again Mesopotamian influence in some which come from vessels on which they served as handles or supports. One common type of handle consists of a nude male figure, upright, with body bending backward so as to offer a hand grip; the man

¹ *B*, 363, p. 131; pl. XIX.

² *Olympia Publication*, III, pl. VIII (5).

³ No. 89.9, Cf. a Boeotian vase in Athens, WALTERS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 35.

⁴ Cf. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, fig. 13. Many representations of lions are listed in the index to SCHUMACHER's *Catalogue*.

⁵ *BCH.*, XI, 1887, pl. XI. Cf. the eight varieties of lead lion unearthed in the Menaleion, *BSA.*, XV, 1908-1909, p. 132, and fig. 7.

⁶ ROUSE, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 144.

holds by the tail¹ two couchant lions² which extend horizontally from the back of his head, with fore paws straight and head turned to face outward over their shoulders. He wears long curls and has an Ionic cast of countenance. The motive is probably of Eastern origin.

Barbarian in origin indubitably is the use of the lion's head for bracelet ends, pendants and other pieces of jewellery.³ Such pendants are found in the Orientalizing⁴ deposit in Sparta. The heads on bracelets and clasps of necklaces are probably from Egyptian originals. Mention has been made of gold bands⁵ from Attica decorated with the lion, and of the silver plaque from Aegina which may have been used for the ornament of a dress. An elaborate pendent in Boston shows rearing lions about an ornate capital composed of scrolls and flowers covered with bees; the lions have reverted heads, and the dog-like meagre bodies characteristic of Greek archaic art. Jewellery with such details is early; even from Greek gems the lion disappears by the end of the sixth century.

In conclusion brief mention must be made of some subsidiary uses of the lion. Its legs and paws are imitated in the legs of chairs, a fashion that comes out of the East; and the various parts of its body blend with strange bodies in the composite beasts. The taste for the composite, little developed in Greece, is acquired from the East; Chaldaea and Babylon were famed for hybrid forms. The Chimaera, popular in Corinth, is best modeled by an Etruscan.⁶ The human-headed lion becomes in Greece a female creature, and its habitat is Thebes, always a centre for foreign influences. The lion-headed man or god

¹ Cf. the Olympia and Oxford tripods,—*JHS.*, XVI, 1896, p. 275. Apparently holding by the tail is a very old motive.

² These serve to fasten the handle to the vessel to which it belonged,—note the hole through the fore paws. Frequently these are matched by two similar figures of animals, not necessarily lions, extended from behind the man's feet. Cf. No. 99.460 in Boston.

³ Jewellery is a field in which many besides CURTIS (*op. cit.*, p. 63), have cause to regret the insufficient amount of critical literature. CURTIS says that Oriental influence in the eighth and early seventh centuries brings to Greek jewellery the subject of the lion conquering goddess. He might well have added that it brings the lion also.

⁴ *BSA.*, XIII, 1906-1907, p. 115, fig. 5b.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 13.

⁶ *BB.*, 319. Note that the Etruscans were originally Anatolians. They used the Chimaera on their coinage in the third century.

of Egypt is unknown in Greece proper. The winged lion is rare even on coins; and the griffin is confined to Cretan work and island gems. The lion-headed eagle of Assyria is degraded in Greek hands into a handle for a vessel.¹ These adaptations at no time become essentially Greek. Even the lion skin of Hercules is treated as an accessory, and increasingly disregarded; and the skin when used for the covering of a chair² is fantastically dotted like a leopard's skin.

Such is the Greek indifference toward the nature of the original. In short, the lion, simple or hybrid, is a stock pattern, adaptable for minor decoration, but not essentially grasped by the artist or craftsman.

¹ Cf. No. 98.681 in Boston.

² *F.-R.*, pl. 123.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the third chapter,¹ Schröder develops three methods of procedure for the representation of the lion in Greek art,—

- (1) Natural—which is largely pre-Greek,
- (2) Decorative,
- (3) Idealistic and symbolic—(this in the final development predominates).

It is true that in all Greece after Mycenaean times there is little enough realism of representation. Not only the dog-like structure of the body, but also the promiscuous use of manes for both male and female, and the adoption of the material of contemporary or earlier foreign art, give evidence of the Greek ignorance of material at first hand; but the product, though it bears little resemblance to the living creature, is essentially effective.

We have seen that the Greeks of the period under discussion used lions, either decoratively or symbolically. Those that are purely decorative are used as shield devices, water-spouts on fountains and temples, and in the ornamentation on vases, either singly or heraldically opposed, or along with other animals in friezes. Lions are used in an idealistic or symbolic sense as canting badges on coins of certain cities and on grave monuments of individuals; in a religious sense, such as the motive of the lion and the bull on sarcophagi and gables of temples, and as the attribute of certain deities and heroes,² or as a monument of valour over a barrow of the dead. We have seen that all the uses are paralleled and preceded by similar usage in Anatolian countries, where the types must have originated, and must have served as models for the Greek figures. That this borrowing of types occurs also in the whole group of Heracles and the lion, which is older than Greek civilization, is more than probable. We have seen that in every case the lion as an artistic motive is non-Greek. One may even doubt whether the words used to denote the beast are essentially Indo-European. It has been

¹ See *supra*, p. 23.

² *Supra*, p. 3 ff.

pointed out by Prellwitz¹ that λέων and λῆς have no cognates in Sanskrit, and that their nearest affinity is the Hebrew *labu* or the Egyptian *lebi*. We have seen further that in literature there is no proof for the mainland Greeks' having had first-hand knowledge of the lion. Their love for the animal is acquired, a heritage from the pre-Greek civilization both on the mainland of Greece and in Asia Minor.² Continued interest in the lion is natural enough, for the strength and fire and beauty of the animal make a universal appeal. But from mere frequency of use and variety of type we may no more infer that the artists have first-hand knowledge than we may believe that the sphinx walked abroad in Egypt and Mesopotamia, or that the fire-breathing dragons³ of China ever existed in the flesh.

¹ *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, under λέων and λῆς. This statement explains the etymology of Lebenaëum, a place in Crete which PHILOSTRATUS, τὰ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον, IV, 34, says is so called ἐπειδὴ ἀκρωτήριον ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατατείνει λέοντι αἰκασμένον. That is, the Greek name is a transliteration of the original name, which was probably Phoenician, and was given to the place because of the peculiar configuration of the headland. See MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 663, note b.

² Miletus was settled in Mycenaean times, see WIEGAND, *Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der kön. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1911*, pp. 4, 5, and VON SALIS in *neue Jahrbücher*, XXV, 1910, p. 103 ff. The double strain of Aegean and Anatolian in Asia Minor makes more comprehensible and reasonable the strong so-called Orientalizing of Greek art.

³ HENDERSON (*The Celtic Dragon Myth*, Edinburgh, 1911) points out analogies of Heracles and the lion, Heracles and the hydra, Perseus and the dragon, St. George and the dragon, as universal folk lore of a water demon slain by a hero. To this list may be added St. Theodore and the crocodile.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

BSA.	Annual of the British School at Athens
A. D.	Antike Denkmäler
A. G.	Antike Gemmen (Furtwängler)
AJA,	American Journal of Archaeology
A. M.	Mittheilungen des kaiserlichen deutschen Instituts—Athenische Abtheilungen
A. Z.	Archaeologische Zeitung
B.-B.	Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Kunst, Munich 1888-1915.
BCH.	Bulletin des Correspondances Helléniques
BMC.	British Museum Catalogue,—Coins, Terra-cottas, Jewellery, Sculpture, Vases
'Εφ. 'Αρχ.	'ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ 'ΑΡΧΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ
F.-R.	Furtwängler-Reichold, <i>Griechische Vasenmalerei</i> , Munich 1904-1912.
Gaz. Arch.	Gazette Archéologique
Jhb.	Jahrbuch des kaiserlichen deutschen archaeologischen Instituts
Jheft.	Jahresheft des österreichischen archaeologischen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J. P.	Journal of Philology (English)
Mon. Ant.	Monumenti Antichi Dei Lincei
P-C.	Perrot et Chipiez
R. A.	Révue Archéologique
R. M.	Mittheilungen des kaiserlichen deutschen Instituts—Römische Abtheilungen
Z. Num.	Zeitschrift für Numismatik

VITA

I, ELEANOR FERGUSON RAMBO, was born in Philadelphia, January 9, 1886. My father was A. Reiner Rambo, and my mother Belle P. Ferguson Rambo. I received my early education in the Camac Grammar School in Philadelphia, and was prepared for college by the Philadelphia High School for Girls, from which I was graduated in June, 1904, receiving a four year Philadelphia City Scholarship for Bryn Mawr College. At Bryn Mawr College, I majored in Greek and Latin; and in 1908 received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In 1908-09, I held a Graduate Scholarship in Greek at Bryn Mawr College, and in June, 1909, received the degree of Master of Arts. In 1909-10, I attended a seminary on Roman Comedy, and in 1911-12, a seminary on Greek Vases at Bryn Mawr College. In 1914-15, I held a Bryn Mawr College Graduate Scholarship in Archaeology, and in March of 1915, was awarded on competitive examination the Fellowship of the American Archaeological Institute for the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. This Fellowship I have not yet been able to use because of the European War. In 1915-16, I attended a seminary on Ancient History in Bryn Mawr College, and in 1916-17, I held the Bryn Mawr College resident Fellowship in Archaeology. During this year, I completed the preliminary examinations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

In 1909-10, I taught Mathematics in the Misses Kirk's School in Bryn Mawr; in 1912-16, I was teacher of Latin and Greek in Miss Wright's School in Bryn Mawr; in 1917-18, I was teacher of Greek and Latin in the Phoebe Anna Thorne Model School in Bryn Mawr.

My graduate work, done wholly at Bryn Mawr, has been under the direction of Professor Henry N. Sanders and Professor Wilmer Cave Wright of the department of Greek, Professor Arthur L. Wheeler and Professor Tenney Frank of the department of Latin, Professor James Fulton Ferguson of the departments of Latin and Ancient History, Professor David Moore Robinson of the Johns Hopkins University, non-resident Lecturer in Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College in 1911-12, Professor Rhys

Carpenter and Dr. Mary Hamilton Swindler of the department of Classical Archaeology.

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